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GDR Defense Minister on Warsaw Pact Communique

LD2911223289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2146 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states attach great importance to the establishment of confrontation-free relations and a constructive dialogue with NATO. A communique published in Budapest today at the end of a meeting of the Defense Ministers' Committee at the same time points out that despite all the positive changes in East-West relations in the disarmament sphere, no fundamental change has been effected yet. The participants unanimously supported a structuring of the armies which will guarantee a reliable defense in the national framework and within the alliance.

Speaking to ADN, GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann said they discussed how the armed forces should look following the new military doctrine adopted by the alliance in 1987. He pointed out that the political character of the Warsaw Pact has priority over the military elements. This trend will continue to develop in the future. This has also been underlined in the meeting between the ministers and the Hungarian head of government Miklos Nemeth.

Of course the current changes in the Warsaw Pact countries was discussed, the minister said. The NVA [National People's Army] is on the brink of a far-reaching military reform. This is a matter of fashioning the relationship between the people and the army anew. In the future, only decisions by the People's Chamber and the government will be decisive for the latter. They are aiming for a smaller but more modern and well-led army with new structures.

In this context, Minister Hoffmann announced that the first measures for improving the living conditions of conscrips will become effective in December. Included in this are new pass and leave regulations as well as the abolition of early morning sports. The army is considering introducing the 5-day week, too. Very intensive work is in progress on forms of democratic consultation with soldiers.

Lushev Cited on 'Depoliticization' of Warsaw Pact

LD2911185289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] First, on the detailed political reports, we broadcast a dispatch by Laszlo Gardai from the press conference of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers:

[Gardai] The consultations ended earlier than planned but the press conference started later than envisioned because, before it, [USSR Defense Minister] General Yazov acquainted Miklos Nemeth with the negotiations in the Budapest Parliament. In return, the Hungarian prime minister informed the commanders of the Warsaw Pact armies about the country's political and economic situation. Miklos Nemeth said, among other things, that the Warsaw Pact must be strengthened both politically and militarily.

During the two days of consultation, an agreement on the technical details of implementing the so-called defense doctrine was signed. The condition of the change is that this should take place in the spirit of mutual security, equality, and with the necessary guarantees, General Lushev [commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces] said at the press conference. Despite the fact that political changes in the various East European countries are different there is a need for cooperation, he said.

In reply to a question, Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati said that the defense ministers had exchanged views about the East European changes, too, but all of this took place only outside the agenda. The Hungarian defense minister did not mention difference of views.

On the other hand, the meeting discussed the celebration of the Warsaw Pact's 35th anniversary planned for next year.

Regarding the question of whether the depoliticization process, which has already begun within the Warsaw Pact, is being felt yet, the Soviet commander in chief answered with a decisive no, while the Hungarian defense minister put it this way: In this respect, significant differences still exist between the individual countries.

At the same time the condition for a united Warsaw Pact can only be an army that is independent of national ideologies, General Lushev said.

Gremitskikh Conducts Press Briefing 29 Nov

Malta Talks

LD2911164489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1516 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of a directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, stated at a briefing today that all arms control issues will be broached to some degree at the Soviet-U.S. summit off the coast of Malta. Moreover, he noted that the summit's agenda will be broad and virtually unlimited.

Of course, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out, it is unlikely that any formal agreements on specific problems will be concluded at this summit, but everyone can count on significant progress in fundamental mutual understanding. The conversation between the two leaders could give a new impetus to the talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons and speed up the conclusion of a relevant treaty.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that, in connection with the forthcoming summit, the question of naval weapons control was raised at a briefing at the U.S. State Department. The USSR, he pointed out, proceeds from its general conception that the naval aspect should be included in the disarmament dialogue. It is impossible to reduce arms in one area while, at the same time, leaving aside other areas. Such an approach would have destabilizing consequences. The USSR believes, Yuriy Gremitskikh stressed, that talk on reducing naval weapons will begin sooner or later.

Kohl Reunification Plan

LD2911175389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov. (TASS)—Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, assessed the so-called stage-by-stage plan set forth yesterday by FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl,—the realization of which would lead to the "restoration of the state unity of Germany"—as an attempt to make attaining "reunification" the object of practical policy and even to include it as an important and topical element in the all-European process.

Speaking at a briefing here today, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the said plan does not take into consideration the interests and views of other European states and, above all, the GDR, "who, as is known, believes that the so-called "German question" is by no means on the agenda."

Moreover, Yuriy Gremitskikh stressed, one can quite clearly see a calculated attempt to turn the processes of renewal that have begun in the GDR into a nationalist channel and to prescribe a route for reforms and their content.

The further development of relations with the GDR, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman continued, is being made directly dependent on that country's fulfilment of "a whole series of conditions, stretching right up to demands that the political and social system in the Republic be changed."

"It is quite obvious," the Soviet diplomat said, "that these actions are totally out of line with the principles of Helsinki and even more so with the new forms of communal life that are taking shape on the continent during the construction of the common European home. Likewise, they have nothing in common with generally-accepted norms of communications between sovereign states."

Yuriy Gremitskikh expressed the hope that "all the same, Bonn will not lose the sense of realism." "It should not be forgotten," he said, "that in Europe there are many other states with an earnest interest in the preservation of stability on the continent and not in the break-up of territorial and political structures that have evolved throughout the postwar period, with all the resulting dangerous consequences for the peaceful future of the peoples of Europe."

Rules Out German Reunification

AU2911153589 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, Nov 29 (AFP)—The "reunification" of Germany is not on the cards for now and attempts to "force the issue" would be counterproductive, Moscow warned Wednesday after West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl proposed a German confederation.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremytskikh told a press conference that Mr.Kohl's declaration amounted to an attempt to shift the reform movement in East Germany onto "nationalistic lines".

Mr. Kohl made his statement without taking account of the opinion of other countries, and his plan was not in keeping with normal relations "between two sovereign states", the spokesman said.

"We hope that Bonn will not now lose its sense of realism", he added.

He also announced that Moscow had invited West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher for talks here next Monday and Tuesday, following the weekend summit between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush off Malta. [passage omitted]

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovski, speaking in Paris, earlier said that discussion of the reunification of Europe "was premature" and that the existence of East Germany was "a major guarantee for balance in Europe and stability in the European situation".

Another close advisor to Mr. Gorbachev, Andrey Grachev, told French RTL radio that while the problem of reunification was one for the Germans to settle, it was "not only their concern".

"For the Soviet Union, for Russia, for the Russians, the German question remains a dramatic one," he said, speaking of the 20 million Soviet dead resulting from the war and Moscow's present-day strategic interests in East Germany. [passage omitted]

El Salvador Situation

LD2911163989 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Commenting at today's briefing on the aggravation of the situation in El Salvador caused by the irreconcilable positions of the warring sides, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh pointed to the need for resolute and constructive measures to settle peacefully the conflict in that country.

"In the present situation the warring sides as well as all states interested in easing tension and finding a peaceful way out of the Salvadoran crisis need to take resolute and constructive steps and display goodwill and readiness for compromise," Gremitskikh said.

In the USSR's opinion, Gremitskikh noted, the involvement of tested negotiating mechanisms which have proved their efficiency, is assuming special importance.

This primarily concerns regular meetings between the president of Central American countries, during which they reached agreements, vitally important for a regional settlement.

A regional summit of Central American states may become an important move towards understanding to ease tension in El Salvador and Central America as a whole, he noted.

Najibullah Message to Bush, Gorbachev

LD2911175689 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—On the eve of the superpowers summit in the Mediterranean, President Najibullah of Afghanistan has sent Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush identical messages, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said at a briefing here today.

According to the spokesman, the message says that the Geneva Accords, which have laid the foundation for a peace settlement in Afghanistan, could help bring about an early end to bloodshed in that country.

However, instead of the long-awaited reduction in the level of military confrontation following the Soviet troop withdrawal, there has been an escalation of hostilities by the extremists supported by certain foreign states.

The Afghan president said that lately more arms have been poured into rebel arsenals and there has been an increase in the number of foreign advisers and mercenaries participating in combat operations on the side of the opposition.

The Afghan Government and Armed Forces have proved their ability to defend the country's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, the message says. The time has come for all the parties to the conflict to question the military road to the Afghan settlement.

The Afghan leadership has put forward a comprehensive plan with the aim of putting an end to the extermination of Afghans by Afghans. "We," Najibullah says, "call for peace talks between all of the country's forces without exception, for convening an international conference on Afghanistan with the participation of all the parties concerned."

The president expressed hope that the USSR and the U.S. would be able to play a decisive role in the search of a way out of the present complex situation, to create conditions for the observance of the Geneva Accords by all sides without exception.

CSSR Events of 1968

LD3011033689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The USSR-U.S. meeting and Czechoslovak events. These were the two topics about which—apart from other things—Yuriy Grimitskikh spoke at his meeting with journalists today. [passage omitted quoting Gremitskikh about the hopes connected with the coming summit]

Yuriy Gremitskih then repeated the stance of the USSR on the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968: That these events have their internal and external aspect and the internal one is the affair of the CSSR. In this way he reacted to the question of the U.S. magazine TIME about the stance of USSR on the appeal to the Soviet Government to apologize for its participation in the arrival of the troops in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 which the representatives of the Civil Forum handed over on Tuesday to the Soviet Embassy in Prague.

Sudan Cease-Fire Talks

LD2911151589 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Soviet Union received the news of the readiness of the Sudan Government and South Sudan rebels to begin ceasefire negotiations on December 1 in Nairobi with satisfaction, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh said the Soviet Union "holds a principled position in favour of resolving outstanding issues, including the internal problems of Sudan, in a peaceful way and on the basis of a constructive dialogue, taking into account the interests of all the sides involved.

"The Soviet Union welcomes the intermediary efforts of governments and politicians who maintain contact with both sides and promote a peace settlement to the years-long conflict."

Gremitskikh expressed hope that both sides "will do everything possible to achieve a stable ceasefire agreement and to agree on the beginning of responsible dialogue on a southern Sudan settlement."

'Misunderstanding' with Albania

LD2911151789 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Soviet people have always entertained feelings of friendship and respect for the Albanian people and wish them success in their economic, cultural and social development, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

He congratulated the Albanian people on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of liberation of the Albanian republic from the Nazi occupation and the victory of the people's revolution, which is marked today.

"We are convinced that the overcoming of misunderstandings which accumulated in relations between the Soviet Union and Albania as a result of a long period of disunity, and a joint search for ways of restoring normal relations would accord with the interests of the two nations and contribute to a climate of confidence and cooperation in Europe and on a broader international scale," the spokesman said.

"This is a consistent policy of the Soviet Union. It is free from any time-serving considerations and is in full accord with the spirit of new political thinking."

'Top Priority' Debates E. Europe, Malta Talk

LD2711223489 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 24 Nov 89

["Top Priority" program with moderator Pavel Kuznetsov; Andrey Melville, position not given; and Aleksandr Nikitin, director of the Center for Political and International Studies]

[Excerpt] [Kuznetsov] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to "Top Priority." I'm your host Pavel Kuznetsov, and together with me in the studio are Drs. Andrey Melville, he appeared on some of our programs in the past, and a new gentleman, Dr. Nikitin, Aleksandr Nikitin. And I'd like you, Aleksandr, to introduce yourself.

[Nikitin] Thank you. I am a director of the Center for Political and International Studies which was cosponsored by the Soviet Peace Committee and Political Sciences Association.

[Kuznetsov] Good. Both of you gentlemen, I know, you've just come from the United States, and later in the program I'll ask you about your impressions of the visit.

Currently the topic for today's discussion is the radical changes, the winds of change, as they are called, blowing throughout almost the whole of Eastern Europe. We are witnessing a period of unprecedented political activity. Hardly a day passes by without some high level talks and meetings, without world leaders making a statement or pronoucement on those events. Thus, for example, on Thanksgiving Day President Bush addressed the nation from Camp David; and in his address he outlined his position on major issues, particularly on the events in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, and, of course, in his position on the upcoming talks with President Gorbachev off the coast of Malta in early December. He, the American President, said he wants this process of reforms to continue.

On our side we greet those developments and like in the United States and elsewhere, in Western Europe in particular, we prefer caution to recklessness. We are flatly against the revision of the post-war borders in Europe, and the same view is upheld by most West European leaders. Now, we—if you agree—and I think you would agree with me that we are going through a very delicate period, a transition period in East-West relations. The most difficult and painful part of it is to give up old habits, the old way of thinking, the old way of conducting foreign policy. But what are we going to replace it with? I understand it has to be something new that will differ from what we are trying to leave behind. If we stop relying on military force, what's going to be, on military deterrence, nuclear deterrence, what's going to be this new mechanism? Who'd like to begin? Andrey.

[Melville] Well, I think you are right. We have to substitute something for something, and the older ways of thinking and the older ways of behavior are the things of the past. But already we are now in a situation when the old is dying but the new is not yet here, available. Now I think that conservatives, moderates, and liberals alike in both countries, in the Soviet Union and in the United States, and probably everywhere in the world, would agree that the world is undergoing some very fundamental changes and in particular Soviet-American relations. We are facing a totally new agenda in Soviet-American relations. I remember that in the past we were totally obsessed here in the Soviet Union with the cult of parity, and we thought that the central issue of Soviet-American relations was disarmament, was the process, not rather of disarmament bu rather of the control of armaments. In fact, during these years of these attempts we attained not much, to put it modestly. But now I think today we are facing a new situation when the main subject on the agenda of Soviet-American relations is not so much the hardware, not so much the weapons, but rather political change, political change inside the Soviet Union and political change in Soviet-American relations and in the world. Now if we look at what President Bush just had recently said concerning perestroyka, I think it's a very important statement; it's kind of a milestone on the possible way of the restructuring, change.

[Kuznetsov] You mean the official desire for perestroyka to succeed?

[Melville] Yes, exactly, and here let me remind you that for 4 and ½ years of perestroyka; American attitude towards what's happening here in the Soviet Union had underwent a significant change. You remember that when the first slogans of perestroyka were announced here in the Soviet Union the majority of the people in the West and especially in the political circles of the United States were kind of cautious, and cautious we were here in the Soviet Union, also.

[Kuznetsov] Andrey, I understand you're carried away with...this is a very interesting subject. Let me interrupt you and give the floor to Aleksandr. He's been silent for some time. Aleksandr, I understand you were in the United States for 2 weeks.

[Nikitin] Right.

[Kuznetsov] While you were there the United States, Defence Secretary Dick Cheney made, in my view, a very remarkbale statement, which is at the same time a remarkable admission that perestroyka is starting to pay off not only for the Soviet Union but for other countries as well. What I have in mind is his statement that budget pressures combined with the changes in Eastern Europe necessitate deep cuts in the military budgets and military spending and his figures, his forecasts are in the vicinity of 200 billion dollars in the period from 1992 to '97. I understand there is a survey by the Brookings Institution which goes further, and I say that without risking its political commitments, its military commitments, the United States can, as well, slash 150 billion dollars a year from its military budgets.

[Nikitin] Let me comment on this.

[Kuznetsov] Well, what is your reaction?

[Nikitin] As a matter of fact, it's time in the world politics you proceed from a worst case analysis to most politically probable case analysis, which means that if before typically the politicians and military people estimated the threat from the other side taking into account only its technical capabilities, how many missiles and so on, now people start to think what are the political reasons staying behind confrontation and if those political reasons are not visible, if the very spirit of confrontation is evaporating bit by bit, then the very nature of estimation of the threat should change. But I wouldn't vote too much for the kind of direct connection between, say, this or that political step in Eastern Europe and then immediately the step in the military budget cuts. It may seem from both Eastern and Western point of view that the West is like giving some gift to the Soviets or to the Eastern Europe for....

[Kuznetsov] (?For its) achievement.

[Nikitin] But I don't like such a word, and I don't like such a logic. It's not for them that Eastern Europe or Soviet Union is doing perestroyka or democratization. It's a natural flow of events and, let me be frank, I believe that the cuts in budgets should proceed not in direct relations with those democratizations.

[Melville] Excuse me for interrupting, but I've been in the United States for several days, exactly at the same time when Aleksandr was there. I did not have the impression that anybody in the United States was pretending that the statement of Mr. Cheney was kind of a present to the Soviet Union. Not at all, I think the prevailing sentiment was that—you are quite correct—that the nature of danger is changing and there is no immediate present danger. The Eastern Bloc is no longer regarded by the United States, by the majority of the public—at least the public opinion polls show this—as the danger, the military danger. We should probably not forget that cuts in military budgets are the economic necessity for the United States and for the Soviet Union, for different reasons though, but for the same economic....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Like Mr Cheney said, it's budget pressures which have necessitated such a move. Are you then saying and are you sure that the arms race, as we understood it before, is becoming irrelevant as an effective means of conducting foreign policy? It's just a waste of time, it's just a waste of resources, it's just a waste of everything, and I think that this was promised by the events in Eastern Europe.

[Melville] You know, very frankly, it seems to me we are now not in the position—we here in the studio—people everywhere in the world are not now in the position to understand what potential changes in the world will come out from the changes which take place now in Germany, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, in the Soviet Union in the first place. We are not able to predict what the picture of the world, what the world scene would look like. But one thing, I think, is absolutely for sure, the world of the past, the world of the cold war, is waning, is disappearing, and we are not probably ready yet to understand what the contours of the new world will be.

[Nikitin] First of all, this world definitely would not be a world of two camps, two blocs, socialism and....

[Kuznestov, interrupting] A bipolar world, East and West.

[Nikitin] It's even more important that the very notions of capitalism and socialism, say, might not be regarded as the proper notions of dividing the world, expressing the, of which part they consist of. [sentence as heard]

[Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, my other question also has to do with the upcoming Malta meeting. President Bush keeps saying that Malta is not going to be another Yalta, alluding, referring to the meeting of the three leaders, Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill which redrew the map of Europe. Like we mentioned before, we are flatly against the revision of the postwar borders in Europe. We favor a gradual transformation of the existing institutions. Now going back to the Malta meeting, President

Bush would like to get assurances from Mikhail Gorbachev of Soviet noninterference in the affairs in Eastern Europe and of continued Soviet support. Do you think that perhaps Mikhail Gorbachev may seek certain assurances from President Bush and what could they be? Andrey?

[Melville] Well, it's always nice to speculate. But look, I think that this summit is going to be a kind of different summit from....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] Setting an agenda. (? I hope) they will agree on some certain set of rules of how to....

[Melville, interrupting] Because I don't think that issues of—military issues—would be the highest priority, to put it mildly, during this summit, I would expect—if I were to be there and if somebody would have my.... I would be able to get to somebody's ear—I would suggest that they have to discuss the issues of political and social change in Eastern Europe. But if I were President Bush I would suggest that we also discuss the issues in Central America.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, he is going to raise this issue, not only Central America and Latin America but regional conflicts as well, because the American side persists that the Soviet Union is the only arms supplier in the world. But the United States is also a big supplier of weapons.

[Melville] (?But just about the proof), the possible proof of noninterference from the Soviet part and from the American side into what is happening today in Europe. I don't think that the United States and the Soviet Union are in the position or are able now to interfere in the traditional ways and traditional forms, (? as it was) in the past. In the first place they did not want to, and in the second place even if they wished, they do not have the means to interfere. Because it seems to me that, since I agree with what Aleksandr said, that the bipolar world, it has disappeared, and the processes in Europe are gaining momentum. Europe now is the independent player in the world politics, and with domestic....

[Nikitin, interrupting] By the way, not everybody in the States liked this. I mean, the reaction of the United States on the events in Europe is quite mixed. Some forces, some people from the political sphere, just say that they feel very cautious about the signs of reunification of Germany and (? so it is not a process), a reunification, not definitely. Some people say the Europe of 1992 is under the question mark after all; those events and if they can slow down the kind of integration in Europe. So practically, if I were Mikhail Gorbachev, following your logic, if you said, do something and be the American President [as heard], if I were Mikhail Gorbachev I would then pose a question about the relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and the necessity for the previous structures. Maybe we are in a position to completely change the correlation of those two blocs and directly to pose first the question of whether it is not time or not to establish the mission of Warsaw Pact within NATO Headquarters and vice versa. [passage omitted on discussion of point that the west is keen for perestroyka to succeed]

United States & Canada

Preparations for Bush-Gorbachev Malta Meeting

Bush, Mulroney Meet

LD3011102889 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

President Bush and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney met in Washington on Wednesday evening.

The meeting was of a private nature, but its importance was enhanced by the fact that the Canadian premier had recently visited the Soviet Union. After the talk, President Bush said that he highly appreciated Mulroney's advice and observations.

Mulroney, in remarks to reporters on the White House driveway said that he recommended Bush to consider granting observer status to the Soviet Union at meetings of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and to accept "an idea that at the end of every economic G-seven summit there be a meeting with the outgoing chairman of the summit and President Gorbachev." This year President Bush will be chairman of the 1990 summit of the Group of Seven. Mulroney said that he also offered the U.S. President "to brief the Soviet president personally after the next G-7 summit."

Mulroney expressed the hope that the meeting off Malta would be fruitful and useful. After his more than two-hour talk with Bush, he said that in his opinion the President was preparing actively for the meeting and his approach to it was very constructive. The Canadian premier said he believed it would yield good results.

Secretary Baker's Statement

LD3011112589 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

Secretary of State James Baker held a special White House press briefing on Wednesday devoted to the forthcoming meeting of Presidents Gorbachev and Bush off Malta.

"This meeting comes at a very unique time in the United States-Soviet relations," Baker said. "At this time of great change, it makes sense for the two leaders to get together for two days of informal, personal discussions. The President and I have said repeatedly that we want reforms in Soviet domestic, foreign and defence policy to succeed, and that we believe that the reforms are for real. We want to see a more open, secure and free Europe. We are interested in exploring the opportunities for mutual advantage across the board in our relations. We see United States-Soviet relations as an organic whole and we don't want any area of our relations to lag behind the cooperative atmosphere that we are seeking to foster."

Gerasimov's Preview

PM2111122089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 46, 12 Nov 89 p 3

[USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov article: "Weekend Meeting on the Mediterranean"]

[Text] News about the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush - scheduled to take place off the coast of Malta in early December - has been welcomed by everyone, from Great Britain to Japan, and as far as the United Nations. The U.S. President predicted a reaction of "enhusiasm", as he put it, to this latest dramatic development in US-Soviet relations. Formerly, such a step would have made people suspicious; it would have been looked on as "a conspiracy of two". The world consensus about it tells us that it meets the demands of the moment.

And the moment is dynamic and unpredictable. At the time of the announcement, Zbigniew Brzezinski was in Moscow. In the '70s he was director of the research Institute of International Change. Talking with him, I said that the theoretical crystal ball could hardly have revealed this to futurologists from his institute back in the '70s. Brzezinski readily agreed that no one had predicted things would change so quickly. Life has left old theories behind.

President Bush agrees that he has given in to the pace of change, and increased the speed of his state machine. At first he preferred circumspection, a very good quality, to action. But the opinion of the allies and the pace of political change led him to propose the unofficial meeting, which Moscow accepted at once. "There was a time," Bush explained at a press conference on October 31, "when I wasn't sure of this, but in connection with such quick changes I don't want to lose anything."

Therefore, the Americans' decision is explained also by their desire not to lag behind events.

As for the other side—we've always considered an ongoing Soviet-U.S. dialogue, without any prolonged pauses, to be useful.

There is no agenda for the forthcoming meeting, and this provides a lot of room for speculation.

They write, for example, about American help for perestroika, though George Bush himself said that assistance wasn't asked for. But this doesn't exclude discussing problems of cooperation where mutual interests are concerned.

The president has often stressed one point of interest: "We want to see perestroyka succeed," he said at the Oct. 31 press conference.

This, of course, is a coincidence of interests, since we also very much want perestroyka to succeed. And such a rare coincidence of political desires tells much (to those who wish to listen) about the international significance of the process of transformations started in Moscow.

In the USA there are quite a few sceptics who doubt the success of this process. There are some such people in the Washington administration. Some are sincere when they ask whether perestroika is reversible. They worry that everything will revert back to the way it was, to "square one", so to speak. Others are doubtful in keeping with their political desires, and consciously attempt to spread scepticism, because personally they felt warmer in cold war conditions. But let's listen to the President, after he had spoken with various Soviet representatives: "And you get the distinct feeling that the clock is not going to be set back to 'square one', and then you go forward. Well, here's how this will interact with U.S. policy".

It's hard to predict what will be the concrete results of the meeting on the waves of the Mediterranean, but maybe we'll see there a symbolic burial of the cold war. After all, the cold war should have been jettisoned a long time ago.

Defense Cuts Would Set 'Positive Precedent'

PM2911182689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint" article: "Who Needs Old Lenses?"]

[Text] The press reports that the Pentagon leadership has begun to examine plans for a certain reduction in military appropriations, and also a cut in the numerical strength of the U.S. Armed Forces. Defense Secretary R. Cheney justified this intention by saying that the threat of the outbreak of armed conflict between East and West has never before been so improbable. Thus the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is fading.

It is clear from the Pentagon chief's statements that it is a question of the intention to reduce U.S. military appropriations by approximately $180 billion in the first years of the coming decade, a possible cut of two or three divisions in the number of ground forces, and the removal of some of the B-52 bombers and certain other types of weapons from the armory.

It is possible that the Pentagon hopes in this way to "preempt" Congress, where there are growing demands to cut the inflated U.S. military budget. People are also pointing out that the economy even of the richest country in the capitalist world is beginning to be unable to bear this burden.

However, it seems to me that this is not the most important thing. The point is that in world political thinking there are increasingly clear glimmers of understanding that a new model of security is vitally necessary to mankind.

For many decades the primacy of military strength has dominated international relations. Fantastic sums of money and material resources were poured into the abyss of the arms race. For what? Did the security of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries become more reliable? By no means. It is increasingly obvious that in the nuclear missile age true security for states can be ensured only by political means. You can no longer look at the modern world, which is packed to the limit with means of mass destruction, through the lenses of old spectacles.

Guided by the new approach, the USSR—and, moreover, unilaterally—is implementing a wide program of reducing armaments and armed forces both in its own territory and in the territory of the allied countries in Eastern Europe, and also in Asia (in Mongolia). In the next 2 years the USSR military budget will be reduced substantially. Reductions in armed forces and armaments are also taking place in a number of other Warsaw Pact countries.

The situation has also changed at disarmament talks. Some progress is taking place in Geneva, where the question of a 50-percent cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms is being examined, and at the 23 countries' talks on arms reduction in Europe.

If R. Cheney's statements on the Pentagon's intention of embarking on a reduction in its military programs do indeed form part of the administration's plans, this can be regarded as a positive precedent. In that event, real prerequisites will be created for the onset of a fundamentally new stage in the military policy of the major powers.

But that prospect is not to everyone's liking. Scarcely had the aforementioned remarks appeared, when the shares of leading U.S. military concerns began to fall.

The reluctance to embark on a reduction of the NATO military machine can also, it seems to me, be explained in terms of the hopes nurtured in those circles in connection with the rapid development of processes in the East European countries. Some people think that "socialism is collapsing" and the Warsaw Pact's positions are "weakening." The temptation arises to fill the "vacuum" that is developing. With what? They call for the main emphasis to be on the latest arms systems, such as "smart weapons" and mobile rapid reaction systems. It is noteworthy that the Pentagon's plans do not provide for cuts in the program to create B-2 bombers, "Stealth," or the "star wars" program.

Clearly military-political thinking in the United States and other NATO countries is now, so to speak, at a crossroads. But life is surging forward rapidly. It urgently demands a resolute revision of obsolete dogmas. Let us hope that the "wind from Malta" will further freshen up the atmosphere.

China

USSR-PRC Talks on Border Troop Cuts Reported

OW2911210189 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Soviet and Chinese foreign affairs and military experts have concluded their first round of talks on reducing Soviet and Chinese border defense troops and enhancing mutual trust. From 13-27 November, the two sides discussed the guiding principles for solving this problem. Our station reporter (Alekseyev) has the following report on the event:

The two sides decided to hold the talks as early as May of this year, when Soviet leader Gorbachev was visiting China. Military detente on the Soviet-Chinese border has been regarded as an important part of the good-neighborly relations between the two countries. Since the last Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, the Soviet Union has made great efforts to implement its troop reduction plan. It will reduce its troop strength in the eastern part by 200,000, including 120,000 troops in 12 infantry divisions and 11 air regiments in the Far East.

I would also like to discuss the issue of the temporary presence of Soviet troops in Mongolia, an issue China has always been concerned about.

The Soviet Union has already withdrawn from Mongolia two tank divisions, one air division, and three air-defense brigades with a total strength of 23,000. By the end of next year the Soviet Union will have withdrawn 75 percent of its April 1989 troop strength in Mongolia. Moreover, most of the withdrawn troops will be demobilized. As Gorbachev said during his visit to China, the Soviet Union will hold consultations with the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on withdrawing all Soviet troops from that country. So, the Soviet Union has taken the first step in achieving military detente on the Soviet-Chinese border.

I would like to discuss our ultimate objective. In his speech to the Chinese public on 17 May, Gorbachev emphatically pointed out that the Soviet Union supports joint efforts to achieve complete non-militarization on the Soviet-Chinese border and keep only some border administrative personnel there.

The foreign affairs and military experts delegations of the two countries to the talks issued a joint statement, saying that troop reductions by both sides on the Soviet-Chinese border and enhancement of mutual trust there is of great significance to developing good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

Raisa Gorbacheva Meets PRC Friendship Group

PM2711153589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Favor of Developing Cultural Ties"]

[Text] On 22 November R.M. Gorbacheva met with Xiao Rong, head of a delegation of the China Association for International Friendly Contacts, who is in the USSR at the invitation of the Moscow Cultural Foundation.

In a lively, informal conversation the mutual usefulness of creative contacts and friendly ties between social organizations and figures from the worlds of culture, art, education, and science in the Soviet Union and China was discussed.

The active utilization for developing such ties of the great new opportunities that have been created as a result of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting 6 months ago is helping enrich the cultural and entire social life of the peoples of the two great neighboring countries, and serves the noble aims of mutual understanding and fruitful cooperation.

USSR-PRC Textile Venture Set Up in Xinjiang

OW1811131389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] (Shuangge) Textile Plant, a Soviet-Chinese joint venture for the production of woolen textiles, has been established in Shihezi of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. According to a XINHUA report, the plant will begin production next year. The total investment is 26 million yuan, equally shared by the Soviet and Chinese sides. The Soviet side will supply wool and textile machinery, while the Chinese side will be responsible for providing plant buildings, some pieces of equipment, technology, and the manpower required for plant operations.

Leningrad, Beijing Forestry Schools Sign Pact

OW1811131189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Beijing University of Forestry will now use data supplied by the Timber Technology Center of the Leningrad Forestry Technology Institute. Chinese experts will receive from this unit information on the variety and properties of timber in the world as well as on new timber materials for construction purposes. This is detailed in a cooperation agreement signed 11 November between the higher-learning institutions of the two countries.

Under the cooperative program, the two countries also plan to exchange textbooks and new teaching methods for special disciplines of science and technology. In addition, each year they will also exchange university students, trainees, research fellows, and teachers.

Northeast Asia

Soviet-Japan Trade Consultations Held in Tokyo

USSR Wants Trade Accelerated

LD2911023189 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo November 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov:

Ways to follow up on the positive trends in Soviet-Japanese relations and to improve trade and economic links between the two countries are among issues on the agenda of bilateral intergovernmental consultations on trade and economic issues, which opened in Tokyo today.

The two-day meeting will examine in detail the fulfillment of the agreement on trade turnover and payments between the two countries, due to expire in 1990, and discuss the cooperation programme for the next five years. The sides are expected to pay much attention to economic reform in the Soviet Union and the prospects which it opens for economic cooperation with other countries.

Direct access by Soviet enterprises, organisations and production cooperatives to the foreign market and the development of new forms of economic cooperation will enable Soviet industry to play a wider role in the international division of labour.

In the past few years there have been sizeable positive changes in Soviet-Japanese relations. Last year the two countries' trade turnover topped three billion roubles and is expected to increase further in the current twelve months. The bilateral trade balance has somewhat improved, although this problem continues to worry both sides.

Nevertheless, the Soviet delegation believes that trade and economic links with Japan are far behind Soviet links with other industrialised nations. Improving these relations is one of the goals of the new five-year agreement on trade turnover and payments, which should commit the two governments to developing mutually advantageous economic relations.

Talks Conclude

LD3011072389 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo November 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov:

The fourth round of bilateral intergovernment consultations on trade and economic matters ended in Tokyo today with an agreement to contribute to the development of mutually advantageous business relations between the USSR and Japan.

The talks were held between Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Veniamin Korolev and Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Koji Watanabe.

During a two-day meeting the sides noted with satisfaction the successful implementation of the present agreement on trade and payments, signed during Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan in 1986, and agreed to start full-scale negotiations on a new cooperation programme for another five years.

The desire was expressed to begin work to extend the agreement, due to expire in 1992, on coastal trade between the Soviet Far East and the west coast of Japan.

N. Territories Issue Seen as Obstacle

OW2911121789 Tokyo KYODO in English 1142 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, Nov. 29 Tokyo—Japanese and Soviet negotiators wrapped up two days of trade talks on Wednesday with differing views over the pace at which to expand economic ties, but reached a general agreement on renewing two trade treaties, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Koji Watanabe, head of the multiministerial Japanese delegation, told his Soviet counterpart Veniamin Korolev that it would be hasty to enter into long-term economic commitments without taking into account the political aspects of the relationship.

But Korolev, deputy minister for foreign economic relations in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, emphasized the Soviet Union's desire to boost economic and commercial ties with Japan without a "politicization" of the relationship.

Officials said the differences of opinion expressed by the two sides were rooted primarily in the bilateral dispute over three islands and a group of islets off Hokkaido occupied by the Soviets since the end of World War II.

Japan has traditionally held that the territorial issue must be cleared up before full-fledged economic relations get under way.

The two delegations agreed in a memorandum issued at the end of the talks to conclude a new Japan-Soviet trade and payment agreement for 1991-1995, to be finalized before the present one expires at the end of 1990.

Outside the memorandum, the Japanese side also offered to positively consider a Soviet request for a new agreement on coastal trade to replace the present one when it expires at the end of next year.

Officials said it is possible that the two agreements will be concluded during the same time period.

Saying that "stable political relations over the long term" are an important prerequisite for the development of cooperative economic relations, Japanese negotiators frowned on several Soviet requests, officials said.

Turning down Korolev's request for a treaty on mutual protection of investment, Watanabe said it is more important at this time for Moscow to work on improving the country's poor investment environment.

The Soviets also had their hopes dashed on a proposed "long-term agreement on principles of economic and industrial cooperation."

Likewise, Japan spurned a Soviet request for a change in the Soviet presence in Tokyo to allow for an expansion of activities.

As part of the proposed plan, the Soviets wanted to set up several new economic organizations, including a Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a branch of the Vneshekonombank of the Soviet Union.

Watanabe explained that it would be hasty to undertake changes with long-term implications at this time when it is still not clear what will arise out of the rapid changes now under way in the Soviet Union, officials said.

He told the Soviets that view applies to the larger picture of Japan's relations with the Soviet Union as a whole.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Congressman Discusses U.S. Bases

HK2711061389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Interview with Gualberto Lumauig, vice chairman of the Philippine House of Representatives Foreign Relations Committee, by unidentified reporter in Moscow; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Reporter] Congressman Gualberto Lumauig, vice chairman of the Philippine House of Representatives Foreign Relations Committee, is in Moscow on a personal visit. He is here with us in the studio.

[Lumauig] I am Congressman Lumauig from Ifugao Province in the Philippines. This is part of the Cordillera region, known as the Cordillera Autonomous Region. I wish to greet our friends here in the USSR while I am here at Radio Moscow.

[Reporter] Which Soviet officials have you met here?

[Lumauig] Along with Ambassador Saez, I met Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and his staff. We talked about many things. I was glad to be given the chance to talk to them.

[Reporter] What issues did you discuss?

[Lumauig] First of all, our trade relations and [words indistinct]. Our relations are warming up and have taken a new turn for the better [words indistinct]. The state visit by our President Corazon Aquino in May next year will surely cover many issues. [sentence indistinct]

[Reporter] Let us discuss the Asia-Pacific region. What can you say about the Soviet initiatives, as spelled out in Krasnoyarsk and Vladivostok by President Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Lumauig] Those important pronouncements dealing with perestroyka [words indistinct] have had a big effect on us and at present this is like opening all your doors and windows towards the entire world so we can witness your dreams to renew ties and unite with other countries for the betterment of all men. We in Asia are very pleased, especially in the Philippines, because what we knew of the USSR in the past was that communism was rather frightening. But now we see that the Soviet people are like us [words indistinct] and you have leaders like Mr Gorbachev whose obsession is to help his country and his people.

[Reporter] According to reports in Philippine newspapers, there have been demonstrations opposing the retention of the American military bases in the country. What can you say about this?

[Lumauig] Regarding the military bases, as members of Congress we are dealing with this [words indistinct] to see what the people say about these bases. We passed a resolution during a recent session that calls for the conclusion of the bases agreement in 1991 by means of our reviewing this to determine whether the bases should go. [sentence indistinct]

[Reporter] In this regard, what do you think of the Soviet proposal for the simultaneous withdrawal of USSR maintenance and supply facilities at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam and those of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines?

[Lumauig] During the past months the Filipinos [words indistinct] at Vladivostok. The interests of the Soviet Union in Cam Ranh [words indistinct], if the Americans remove their bases from our country. That is a good suggestion.

[Reporter] What can you say about the activities of the new Supreme Soviet, our parliament?

[Lumauig] [Words indistinct] much interest in the new Supreme Soviet. During the briefing given to me [words indistinct] seems like a true representative of the people [words indistinct]. It is like a true [words indistinct], a real democratic [word indistinct]. President Gorbachev is making sure that all the people are able to join in the government's [words indistinct]

[Reporter] What perspectives regarding aid can you envision, as far as the governments of our two countries are concerned?

[Lumauig] The two countries can contribute greatly if there is a constant exchange of visits by parliamentary groups. Our congressmen and senators could study the Soviet system and the Soviets can come to the Philippines to study our system. We could try to utilize the good things of each system [words indistinct]. So we should encourage more exchanges among our parliamentarians [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Now that you have visited Moscow and Leningrad, can you give us your impressions of these?

[Lumauig] There have been many changes since I visited 21 years ago. Changes have happened, such as more openness, benefits for the people in terms of infrastructure development, and in terms of access to many areas. Whereas, 21 years ago there were many restrictions. So I have been telling myself that all this is the effect of perestroyka.

[Reporter] Thank you very much for your views.

New Philippine Antibases Group Formed

HK3011040589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] A workers' alliance which opposes retention of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines has been formally set up in Manila. Reports said the alliance, whose members number more than a million, is urging President Corazon Aquino to give notice to Washington about the final and absolute end of the military bases agreement in 1991. The alliance is threatening to carry out demonstrations if President Aquino does not do this.

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry's Vorontsov on Israel Ties

PM3011144989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Excerpt of interview with Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, by unidentified IZVESTIYA reporter: "Cutting the Near East Knot"; date, place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [IZVESTIYA] Recently one has sometimes seen voiced in the press the opinion that a settlement would be promoted by the USSR's recognition of Israel and the establishment of diplomatic relations with it. What can you say on this score?

[Vorontsov] This is an important problem, and, unfortunately, there is much confusion surrounding it. The question of Soviet recognition of Israel was removed back in 1948. We recognize the State of Israel both as a political reality and de jure.

Diplomatic relations are another matter. Speaking in general terms, the absence of such relations is an anomaly. But it must be borne in mind that the breaking off of relations in 1967 is a fact of history which had serious political grounds.

For as long as Israel does not agree to move toward a settlement, to take steps toward convening an international conference, what would the resumption of diplomatic relations symbolize? Would it not be perceived in Israel, and indeed in the world in general, as abandonment of support for the Palestinians' just struggle? And there is no cause to doubt that there are in Israel people who would like to see our policy precisely from this standpoint.

But we are not cordoning ourselves off from Israel with an iron curtain. The absence of diplomatic relations does not impede the development of contacts between our peoples, or the strengthening of cultural ties. It is no secret that many Soviet emigrants live in Israel who have no wish to break off their spiritual ties with the country in which they were born and raised. Nor are political contacts suffering. When the need arises they are pursued at the most diverse levels, including meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers.

So I would not begin to depict the situation in a single color. We sincerely hope that the evolution of the Israeli position will ultimately allow our relations to be properly arranged.

But it is important to remember that time does not wait. It is the shared task of the Near East peoples and the entire international community to not miss the opportunity to move toward a just peace.

Released POWs Give News Conference in Moscow

LD3011061389 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

The two Soviet prisoners-of-war who were released recently by the Afghan rebels after lengthy negotiations addressed a news conference here today.

"An assertion that I surrendered arms in hand is a lie," Andrey Lopukh from Belorussia said in answer to numerous questions from journalists. "That I was taken prisoner in August 1988 was the purest chance. Held captive by the Afghan rebels on Pakistani territory and owing to the lack of any information, I lost any hope of ever returning home. But the unbelievable occured. When we arrived in Tashkent by air, I kissed my native land, and a heavy burden fell from my soul."

Valeriy Prokopchuk from the Ukraine, whose military unit was near the Soviet-Afghan border, lost his way in the mountains, wandered a lot until he lost consciousness and fell into the hands of rebels.

He said that in a prison on Pakistani territory he was kept together with Afghan People's Army servicemen. He was preparing to escape. Provocateurs who were brought to Pakistan from Iran informed on him. He was then badly beaten.

Lopukh and Propkopchuk voiced deep gratitude to Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto as well as to the International Committee of the Red Cross for their help in the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war held by the Afghan rebels.

"The fate of our servicemen in Afghanistan," Anatoliy Karpov, people's deputy of the USSR and chairman of the board of the Soviet peace fund, said at the news conference, "is a matter of our common concern and anxiety for their life and health. There are now two of them among us. Tens of our compatriots still languish in captivity. We may not rest calm as long as they remain there."

As has been reported, the Soviet parliament on Wednesday granted an amnesty for former servicemen of the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who committed crimes. At the same time, people who had already been convicted by Soviet courts for such crimes have also been released from penalty. All previous convictions will be struck off the record of people who served their term.

Najibullah Interviewed on POW Release

LD3011073189 Moscow TASS in English 2126 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Kabul November 30 TASS—In view of the ceremony in Peshawar on Monday [27 November] to hand over to the Soviet prisoners of war that were held captive by the Afghan rebels, [as received] TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy requested Afghan President Najibullah to comment on the event:

"We made much effort previously as well both through diplomatic channels and through the good offices of some states, international and charitable organisations, political, social and humanitarian institutions and individual persons to create conditions for the release of Soviet soldiers held captive.

"Within the same context we released a large number of oppositionists who had been convicted for various crimes.

"All these actions of ours, which are of unilateral character so far, had only one aim: to show to the other side our readiness for goodwill and peaceful settlement.

"Until now all our actions concerning the release of prisoners of war," Najibullah went on to say, "were performed within the framework of the reconciliation policy. All supporters of the opposition whom we realised by now were earlier convicted by Afghan courts for subversive activity against the Afghan people, for murders and banditry.

"Naturally, while pursuing such a policy, we have a right to expect a positive reaction to our government's humane steps.

"In this connection, our approach to POW exchanges will continue to be built in accordance with specific conditions," the Afghan president emphasised.

Najibullah Message to Bush, Gorbachev Cited

LD3011092789 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Kabul November 30 TASS—Looking forward to the forthcoming shipboard meeting off Malta between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, President Najibullah of Afghanistan addressed the two leaders wishing them success on behalf of Afghan people. He also expressed his conviction that the talks would give fresh impetus to developing relations and building trust between the USSR and U.S.

Speaking about the situation around Afghanistan, the president said that the region was the flash point of the most acute tensions in the world: It has been in a state of war for more than ten years. The hope that the Geneva accords would put a quick end to the bloodshed would have materialised if every signatory had undertaken equal responsibility for the implementation of Geneva provisions. One of the principles of international law is that treaties should be fulfilled. "I am convinced that you share our concern in this regard."

Having noted that the Soviet withdrawal laid down the groundwork for ending the war, Najibullah said that as a result of encouragement by some states, combat operations have reached a new, higher level, the flow of modern weapons to the opposition diehards has increased and other forms of interference are carried out. Extremists, with close links to foreign intelligence services and narcomafia, resort to terrorism and the shelling of cities and residential area. Today the entire world has become convinced of how senseless these acts are.

Opposition leaders hold an unrealistic and biased assessment of the Afghan Government as incapable to defend itself on its own.

"We have proved quite the opposite and state with resolve that it will be so in future," the president said.

The political settlement of the conflict, which meets the demands of times, corresponds to the feelings of most Afghans. The Afghan leadership favour peaceful negotiations with all political forces of the country without exception and the convocation of an Afghan peace conference, which would form a governing council and announce a six-month cease-fire.

The council could create a broad-based coalition government and a commission to draft a new constitution and election laws, to be endorsed by Loya Jirgah. After that the government proposes to hold free elections by secret ballot.

The new government should be formed by the party or the coalition of parties that wins the elections. Its task will be to restore the economy and normalise the situation in the country. If necessary, elections can be held under international control.

The government also proposes to convene an international conference with the participation of all sides that will proclaim Afghanistan a neutral, nonaligned and demilitarised state. This would meet not only the interests of Afghanistan but also those of states that support the solution of the Afghan problem.

In conclusion, the president urged the great powers to provide necesary assistance in the political settlement in and around Afghanistan. "We believe that the Soviet

Union and the United States can help establish a non-aligned, independent, neutral and Islamic state of Afghanistan, its political and economic system, based on pluralism, democracy and free market economy," the president said. The Afghan Government is prepared for talks on the Afghan problem without any preliminary conditions attached to it.

This address was made public at a news conference here on Wednesday by Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil. For his part, the foreign minister said that the meeting between Gorbachev and Bush was an important event of the current decade. There is every reason to believe that both sides intend to put an end to confrontation, mistrust and hostility and build relations on a new basis.

The forthcoming event, Wakil said, has given rise to a lot of optimism and hope throughout the world. World public opinion expects the threat of world war to be eliminated. The Afghan people also link great hopes with the success of that meeting and with its role in ending the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Iran 'Neutral Spectator' of Malta Meeting

NC3011115189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] IRNA published a commentary on the upcoming meeting between the U.S. and Soviet leaders aboard a warship off the Maltese coast. This meeting has been compared in importance to the U.S., Soviet, and British leaders' conference in Yalta in 1945. Let us look at the meeting from the viewpoint of the Islamic world.

The meeting between the two sides is an interim one. In the beginning of next summer an official summit will take place between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev from which specific and dependable results regarding the improvement of the international atmosphere are expected. In view of this outlook, the mass media of various countries are attaching great importance to the interim session.

However, IRNA is approaching this issue in a different manner. It is true that this news agency is drawing an analogy between the meeting near Malta with the historic Yalta conference. However, the outcome of the latter conference was basically negative and it was held with the overt intention of spreading the seeds of diffidence.

If it does not seem a selfish motive, we will assess the upcoming meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders: It would be difficult to attribute the motives of the Yalta conference as a plot hatched by the superpowers for the division of the world and to extend their influence on the Islamic section of the world. [passage omitted]

Today we are witnessing new political thought that has conspicuously improved the international situation, but which is forging ahead along its path with difficulty. Under the aegis of this new thinking, the meeting near Malta became possible. The participants in this meeting have no intention to expand or strengthen U.S.-Soviet ties at the cost of the interests of other governments.

If they are able to resolve the differences on even a few of the outstanding issues of the contemporary era, it will be to the benefit of world peace. The warning note sounded in Tehran toward the U.S.-Soviet leaders is linked to the traditional stance of the principle of neither East nor West supported by some Iranian politicians. As in the past, they are the ones who believe in maintaining a certain distance from the United States and the Soviet Union by capitalizing on their differences and contradictions.

Today this stance of a neutral spectator cannot be considered realistic. The world is undergoing change. Positive changes are emerging in Soviet-U.S. relations as well. [passage omitted]

CPSU Cencom Greets Algerian Party Congress

PM2911173089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message: "To the Extraordinary Congress of the Algerian National Liberation Front"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee greets the delegates to the extraordinary National Liberation Front Congress.

We are following with amicable interest the democratic changes in Algeria, and recognize the significance of the congress for the country's future and the scale of the questions it must tackle.

We wish the congress fruitful work for the benefit of the Algerian people and in the interests of successful cooperation between Algeria and its consistent friends.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee

Lukyanov Presents Award to Indian Diplomat

LD2411062989 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—Soviet Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov presented a people's friendship order to Indian diplomat and former Indian Ambassador to the USSR Triloki Nath Kaul in the Kremlin today.

Kaul was awarded for his active participation in the development of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between India and the Soviet Union.

Lukyanov cordially congratulated Kaul and noted that the multifaceted cooperation of the two countries has reached a qualitatively new level.

He expressed conviction that the interaction between the Soviet Union and India will successfully develop on the basis of the treaty on peace, friendship and cooperation and the Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

In reply, Kaul expressed his profound gratitude for the award and stressed that India highly values its friendship with the Soviet Union as an important factor of international politics.

PDRY Envoy Received by Head of Friendship Body

EA2211090589 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Brother Dr Ahmad Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah, member of the Central Committee and our country's ambassador to the Soviet Union, yesterday met in Moscow Comrade Aleksandr Sukharev, public prosecutor [as heard] of the Soviet Union and chairman of the Soviet-Yemeni Friendship Society.

During the meeting relations of friendship and cooperation between the two friendly peoples and ways of strengthening them in various fields were reviewed.

The brother ambassador expressed satisfaction with the high level of relations between the two parties as well as confidence in the continuous and subsequent development of these relations.

For his part, Comrade Sukharev praised the achievements of the Yemeni Socialist Party and Yemeni workers, pointing out in this connection the great importance of the movement for comprehensive political and economic reform to boost the general living standards of the people to expand democracy, and create the best circumstances for achieving the unity of Yemen by democratic and peaceful means.

East Europe

Bloc Press Coverage of Gorbachev Article Noted

PM2911135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1,4

[TASS and PRAVDA correspondents' roundup dated 27 November: "New Vision of Socialism. Foreign Press on Article by General Secretary of CPSU Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] The article by M.S. Gorbachev entitled "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka" published in PRAVDA found a broad response in the world press. In their first responses newspapers and other mass media focus mainly on the tenet that "the fate of perestroyka depends to a large, if not decisive degree" on the CPSU's activity.

All the Czechoslovak newspapers published a detailed account of M.S. Gorbachev's article. RUDE PRAVO published a half-page account of it under the headline "Socialist Idea." An introduction says that in his article the top Soviet representative synthesizes and develops ideas contained in his recent speeches. The newspaper PRACE published an account of the article under the headline "Socialism's New Face" ["Novoye litso sotsializma"]. It singles out M.S. Gorbachev's words that the CPSU is starting on the path of its own perestroyka, and its internal structure and work style and methods are changing. As the Soviet leader points out, the newspaper writes, in the interests of consolidating society and uniting all healthy forces to solve the complex tasks of perestroyka it is advisable to maintain the one-party system. But the party will promote the development of pluralism, the comparison of views, and more extensive information for the people in the interests of democracy.

All Hungary's central newspapers today published an account of M.S. Gorbachev's article in PRAVDA. "Material Sufficiency, Democracy, Legal Freedom" reads the headline on NEPSZABADSAG's front page. In its introduction the newspaper writes that the article by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee contains a systematic critique of the ideological bases of perestroyka, its historical necessity, and its aims. "Socialist renewal will be a lengthy process," NEPZSAVA notes, introducing the article. "Gorbachev is in a hurry for radical change," MAGYAR HIRLAP believes. The newspaper MAGYAR NEMZET puts the following words in the headline: "We Must Pay for Our Sluggishness and Conceit."

The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries an account of the article under the headline "M.S. Gorbachev Favors Socialism With A Humane Look [chelovechnyy oblik]." The newspaper singles out above all the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's thinking that creating socialism with a humane look accords with the idea of Karl Marx, who believed that the society of the future will represent real functioning humanism. The creation of this society is the main aim of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the newspaper stresses. [Passage omitted]

GDR Rejection of Kohl 'Reunification' Bid Noted

PM2911162389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondents Ye. Bovkun, V. Lapskiy dispatches under general heading "Treaty-Based Community or Swallowing of GDR?"]

[Excerpts] Bonn—Addressing the Bundestag, FRG Chancellor H. Kohl has outlined a program for the development of relations between the two German [passage omitted]

Berlin—The GDR Government's viewpoint was stated by its spokesman Wolfgang Meier. Relations between the GDR and the FRG must be based on the principle of mutual respect and observance of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and equality. "Reunification" is not on the agenda, and nobody—either in the East or in the West—seriously wishes to disturb the European equilibrium. Stability in relations between the two German states is a most important prerequisite for security and stability in Europe. As regards the federal chancellor's references to self-determination, the overwhelming majority of our people are in favor of renewal in a sovereign, socialist GDR.

Coming to the federal chancellor's proposals on cooperation with the GDR, they contain some interesting starting points for talks, W. Meier's statement says.

A group of writers and cultural and public figures, including Stefan Heim and Christa Wolf, who are highly respected in the country, has issued an appeal to GDR citizens. They call for the preservation of the GDR's autonomy. We still have a chance, the appeal says, to develop a socialist alternative next to the Federal Republic and in equal good-neighborliness with all countries in Europe. The authors call on those who agree with them to sign the appeal.

GDR Leaders Sign Public 'Fatherland' Appeal

LD2911221889 Moscow TASS in English 2209 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin November 30 TASS—Egon Krenz, the leader of the German Democratic Republic, and GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow on Wednesday signed the appeal "for our fatherland" by the GDR public.

The document was issued by leading writers, lawyers, physicians and philosophers as well as representatives of opposition movements.

In an atmosphere when some people in West Germany express proposals about Germany's reunification and when economic aid to the German Democratic Republic is made dependent on its rejection of the socialist system, they called on their countrymen to speak in support of the socialist future.

Krenz notes in a letter to the authors of the appeal that he shares their concern about the gravity of the situation. He assured them that he would do his best to promote the development of socialist society in the country which guarantees peace, social justice and freedom for everyone.

The GDR people bear the historic responsibility: To preserve this country with its anti-fascist and humanistic ideals and traditions as a socialist German state, he writes.

Trade Protocols Signed With GDR, SFRY

PM3011155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A protocol was signed 22 November between the USSR Government and the GDR Government on commodity turnover and payments in 1990.

The protocol was signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, on the Soviet side and G. Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, on the GDR side. G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, was present during the signing.

A protocol has been signed in Moscow on USSR-SFRY commodity turnover for 1990.

The protocol was signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and F. Horvat, SFRY federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries. M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, was present during the signing.

Bulgaria's Mladenov To Visit Early Dec

LD3011144689 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Bulgarian leader Petr Mladenov will visit the Soviet Union in early December at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Rogachev Meets With Bulgarian Ambassador

PM3011161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ambassador Received"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev received G.Ts. Pankov, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the USSR, on 24 November. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of the two countries' cooperation in the international arena, and in the Asia-Pacific region in particular.

CSSR's Adamec Receives Support as Premier

LD2911230189 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Prague November 30 TASS—On Wednesday Ladislav Adamec, the head of the Czechoslovak Government, told representatives of political parties, trade-union, youth and public organisations about the results of the talks with the activists of the Civic Forum. He expressed an intention to submit a project soon with a view to including members of political parties and non-party people in a new government.

The participants in the meeting expressed confidence in Adamec and stated that the parties and organisations they represent are insisting that Adamec remain at the head of the Czechoslovak Government of a new composition.

On Wednesday Josef Hromadka, head of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, also expressed support for the head of government.

November an all-Czechoslovak aktiv meeting of representatives of primary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] organizations took place in the Palace of Culture. Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, delivered a speech at the aktiv meeting. He stated, in particular, that the thesis of the CPCZ's leading role in its present form should be revised, and also the events of 1968 should be reassessed. He acknowledged that an opposition has formed, and has acquired powerful influence. In this difficult time Communists should unite and align themselves with all who sincerely stand up for socialism. It is necessary to step up the influence of Communists in the mass media and not allow the opposition to gain the upper hand there.

The second meeting between a government and National Front delegation and a "Civic Forum" delegation was held on Tuesday. It lasted 2 hours. The first minutes passed in a strained atmosphere. The positions appeared to be totally dissimilar. But then the sides reached constructive agreements. Government Premier L. Adamec promised to propose a new government to the president by 3 December for confirmation. It will be a broad coalition government, including nonparty people and members of various parties, including, of course, the CPCZ.

The role, behavior, and interaction of political forces is, I believe, one of the most burning questions today. The leader of the situation, especially if you take into account the nationwide success of the strike and demonstrations, is the "Civic Forum," whose program, as K. Urbanek said at the party aktiv meeting, could form a basis for agreement. However, some misgivings are already being expressed: It is no use replacing one monopoly with another. And some "Civic Forum" representatives display these tendencies: Democracy for everyone is proclaimed verbally, but in practice Communists are slighted and are not allowed near the microphone. This is not a dialogue, but a monologue. The euphoria of nationwide action, that mighty torrent, brings wreckage too—of lives, characters, views. This leads to tension and stratification, despite the prevalence of slogans like: "Strength lies in unity."

Another effectively new force in the political arena is the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. Unremarkable only 2 weeks ago, playing the part of some kind of social requisite for an ostensibly "multiparty" system, and uniting only 16,000 members in its ranks, today it is acting entirely autonomously and with maturity, demanding unification in the ranks of a renewed National Front and pointing out that far from all the front's potential is being exploited. This is an important feature that differs radically from the position of the "Civic Forum," for instance. The latter, incidentally, on the evening of 28 November demanded, among other things, the resignation of the CSSR Government by 10 December and the abolition of the people's militia (armed detachments of workers subordinate to the CPCZ leadership).

All Communists and many nonparty people are worried about the situation with the Communist Party. People remember very well that only recently some of those who were at the helm of the CPCZ openly, though timidly, "among friends," mocked Soviet perestroyka. This was done, of course, in order to discredit the very idea of democratization and radical changes. Concerning the situation in the CSSR, it was said (for instance, at a Central Committee plenum a month ago) that here the situation is stable and everyone supports and agrees with everything. If that were true! Such postulates have been refuted by life itself today, but what next? Within the party itself, not all is calm. Unity of action is necessary. Will the party achieve it, in the face of the approaching free elections? In any event, the question of the place of the CPCZ and its renewal remains perhaps the most sensitive issue of the day.

What, to sum up, is the political cast of mind today? How do people envisage their country's future? The public opinion institute in Prague carried out a representative poll which shows: 45 percent of those polled are unreservedly in favor of socialism in the CSSR, and only 3 percent are in favor of capitalism. Some 47 percent came out in favor of "something in between" socialism and capitalism. It may be assumed with a high degree of probability that the meaning of this last answer is primarily that people are opposed to bureaucratic, barracks socialism, opposed to stagnation. They are tired of all that, and see the solution in a diversity of forms of ownership, in political pluralism. "Let us struggle for the ideals of socialism!" the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee urged the participants in yesterday's aktiv meeting. "We are for socialism!" These words predominate absolutely in Czechoslovakia today.

Polish Defense Minister To Visit in Early Dec

LD2911144889 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—It has been announced here that Polish Defence Minister Florian Siwicki will pay an official visit to the USSR early in December at the invitation of Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov.

Polish Reaction to Mazowiecki Visit Noted

Poles Show Great Interest in Visit

PM2911144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: " 'We Are Neighbors United by an Alliance...'"]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Nov—A typical sight in Poland and Warsaw, lines of people eager to learn the latest news, form up at newspaper kiosks every morning. They are usually eager to learn details about paramount events and the way they are appraised. Today's main news is the

CSSR Federal Assembly Amends Constitution

PM3011172989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "CSSR: Constitution Amended"]

[Text] Prague—An extraordinary session of the CSSR Federal Assembly was held 29 November. At the very beginning of it A. Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly, announced his resignation. The new chairman will be elected at the next session on 12 December. Jan Janik, chairman of the Chamber of Nations, accepted the leadership of the session.

There were three items on the agenda. First, the Federal Assembly's statement on the situation in the country was adopted almost unanimously with just a few abstentions. Then there was a statement of position on the dramatic events of 17 November. The parliament was unanimous: The actions of the police against a peaceful student demonstration were resolutely condemned. The deputies have formed a commission to investigate the circumstances of those events. Members of the student strike committee have joined the commission.

And finally, the Federal Assembly removed from the text of the CSSR Constitution the statute on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. The state's policy in the sphere of culture, instruction, education, and training will now be based "not on Marxist-Leninist ideology but on scientific knowledge, patriotism, humanism, and democracy." The article on the National Front is retained but the thesis that the front is led by the CPCZ has been deleted.

For the first time in Czechoslovakia's history the parliamentary session was relayed live.

That evening Ladislav Adamec, the head of the government, addressed television viewers. He said that incompetent bureaucratic interference in the government's work had caused considerable harm. Today many people are asking: What will happen tomorrow, in a week, in a month's time? That depends on the people, all 15 million of them. Can they overcome the crisis? Various complaints are being made against the government now, people are trying to put pressure on it. But anarchy and destabilization cannot be a rational guarantee. The best policy is honesty, frankness, and an economy working normally. In the past week the government has already met three times with representatives of the "Civic Forum." The desire for mutual understanding does not in any way contradict my communist convictions, L. Adamec said. However, ultimatum and diktat are unacceptable. And there is another matter—that of 1968. People cannot close their eyes to this question any more, as they did until recently. The government will express its principled viewpoint on those events.

He also said that the opening of talks with the Soviet Government on the intergovernmental treaty on the temporary presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory should be brought forward and stressed that the withdrawal of troops "must be consonant with progress in the all-European disarmament process." It would be a mistake, however, to base a cheap campaign on that fact or try to make political capital out of it.

Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with the prosecutors general of the CSSR and the Czech Socialist Republic and a member of the leadership of the CPCZ Central Committee Central Control and Auditing Commission, gave them documents which should help the investigation of the events of 17 November, and asked for the investigation to be speeded up as much as possible.

Cestmir Cisar, who was a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat in 1968, has appeared twice on TV Channel 1 in his capacity as representative of the club "For Socialist Restructuring - Rebirth." The newspapers report that Ota Sik, former deputy chairman of the government and leader of economic reform work, has said that if he is given full rehabilitation he would like to return home from Switzerland, where he has spent 20 years in exile. I was informed over the telephone that Zdenek Mlynar, former secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and author of the book "Cold Wind From the Kremlin," which is well-known in the West, has arrived in Prague from Austria.

RUDE PRAVO's editorial on 30 November carries the brief headline "Struggle!" The newspaper writes: "Nowadays, struggle means going beyond the framework of internal party discussions and seeking paths toward all fellow citizens. It means being wherever they meet. It isn't important at this moment who organizes and convenes these meetings and whether they get around to inviting us there or not. The important thing is that, despite possible distrust and criticism, these and other meetings should hear words expressing our party's position and its ideas about this country's future, the words of communist citizens."

Current Events, Opinion in Czechoslovakia Viewed

PM2911172289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[L. Kornilov report under rubric "IZVESTIYA's Correspondents Comment": "Czechoslovakia: Struggling for Ideals of Socialism"]

[Text] Prague—Wenceslas Square looked unusually calm and workaday on Tuesday. Only by the monument to St Wenceslas was there a group of young people, and the debates were taking place without microphones or platforms. The demonstrations have ended. The big banners bearing the word "strike" that stretched the full width of the facades can now only be seen at the entrances to theaters, higher educational establishments, and other educational institutions.

But this calm is, of course, only on the surface. The situation remains tense today. In the evening of 28 interpretation of the visit by T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers, to the USSR.

"We are neighbors united by an alliance and many common interests," the head of the Polish Government said in Moscow. These words are appraised in Warsaw as highly meaningful, and this is what the local newspapers repeat most of all.

The Soviet Union is interested in the success of the head of government's cabinet and the Polish people, who are close to the Soviet people, PAP's correspondent writes from Moscow. The press offers detailed coverage of T. Mazowiecki's talks, the Polish leader's meetings with Poles living in the USSR, and with scientific and cultural figures, and his visit to Katyn. The newspapers conclude that now there should be fewer "blank spots" in the history of our peoples. TRYBUNA LUDU's observer listed T. Mazowiecki's diverse encounters on Soviet soil, his meetings in Smolensk and Leningrad, and the suitable opportunities to share his opinions with different audiences among the positive features of the visit.

I return with the feeling that we achieved mutual understanding, and if this is a success it is a success for Poland. I think the results of the visit are successful, T. Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers, declared. The USSR's attitude to the transformations in Poland is positive, just like our attitude to the Soviet changes, he told the journalists who met him at the airport on his return from the USSR. We emphasized the importance of Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, as well as the importance of bilateral relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. I think that, from this point of view, the visit's political goal was achieved.

Government Positively Appraises Visit

LD2911221389 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw November 30 TASS—The meeting of the Polish Government on Wednesday pointed to the unprecedented and historic nature of the visit to the Soviet Union by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the Polish Government delegation.

The cabinet heard information about the results of the visit. Meetings and talks in Moscow were those of equal partners. This enabled the sides to discuss the most important questions in interstate relations.

The Polish delegation was satisfied with the fact that the Soviet side positively appraised the ongoing changes in Poland.

Mazowiecki, Jaruzelski Discuss Visit

LD2911221489 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw November 29 TASS—President Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland received Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today. During the meeting the Cabinet head informed Jaruzelski of his recent official visit to the Soviet Union, above all of the talks with Soviet leaders and meetings with representatives of the public as well as with Soviet citizens of the Polish stock.

The president and the prime minister assessed the visit as an important event which would help develop Soviet-Polish relations.

U.S. Special Aid Delegation Arrives in Poland

LD2911235689 Moscow TASS in English 2322 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw November 30 TASS—A familiarization with the state of the Polish national economy and the identification of its needs are among the tasks to be accomplished by the special envoys of the United States President who arrived in the Polish People's Republic on Thursday.

The members of the delegation, including ministers, prominent business people, and experts, will prepare a detailed report to George Bush based on the results of their visit.

The report will form the basis for a long-term, large-scale programme of American aid to Poland.

PZPR Politburo Condemns 'Right-Wing' Attacks

PM3011134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Against Attacks From the Right"]

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Nov—A Tuesday session of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo expressed grave concern at the intensifying attacks by right-wing forces against the PZPR on the eve of its 11th congress. Those taking part in the session were familiarized with the analysis prepared by experts of the sociopolitical processes in Poland, including the possible future directions of political and propaganda attacks directed against the PZPR. It was stressed that they are a component of the strategic concept of the right-wing forces seeking a rapid change to the system in Poland in accordance with their interests. That creates the danger that the situation in Poland may be destabilized.

The Politburo resolved that the party members be informed of the political and propaganda actions planned by the rightwing forces aimed at weakening the party before its 11th congress. It was acquainted with the opinions and assessments of party members and nonparty people with regard to these phenomena in the country, which attest to the fact that some circles have sharpened the political struggle. In particular, their activity is expressed in the denial of the achievements of the past 45 years and the identification of this period with Stalinism, in the actions aimed at repealing the national holiday, Polish resurrection day on 22 July, in the destruction and elimination of monuments, the burning of books, and the desecration of Soviet servicemen's graves. The Politburo resolved to publish a special statement on these questions.

The session analyzed preparation for the 11th PZPR Congress and adopted a resolution on inviting foreign delegations to the congress.

USSR Wants To End 'Estrangement' From Albania

PM2911124989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[G. Mitkevich article: "Albania: Time of Change"]

[Text] The Albanian people celebrate Liberation Day on 29 November. On that day 45 years ago, the last Nazi occupier was driven out of the country's territory. The people's revolution was victorious in Albania.

The Albanian working people are meeting their national holiday in an atmosphere of intense efforts being made to fulfill the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and these efforts are bearing fruit. The plan for the first 9 months for industrial output and for construction and land reclamation work has been overfulfilled. Fine results have been achieved in transportation, trade, and the services sphere. In agriculture there has been a noticeable increase in agricultural and stockraising output in comparison with previous years.

The progress outlined in the country's economic development can largely be explained by the measures being taken to improve the economy's operation. This primarily means improving planning, introducing material labor incentives and eliminating wage leveling, and giving some enterprises and agricultural cooperatives greater independence in solving questions of production and distributing income.

A struggle is being waged against bureaucracy. Monitoring of enterprise administrations' activity has been stepped up. A state monitoring commission has been set up, with substantial powers. Leading cadres are being rotated. At the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee September plenum a wide range of questions of developing democratic principles in party and state life were examined. They included: the inadmissibility of the party apparatus' taking the place of the elective people's council organs and the need to eliminate duplication in solving economic questions by party and state organization leaders; the holding of competitions for leading state posts and the possibility of nominating nonparty people to them; and alternative elections for leaders of primary party organizations, with a maximum term of 4-5 years.

Albania's foreign policy and foreign economic activity has been stepped up. In the last 2 years, diplomatic relations with the GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have been raised to embassy level. After a long interval a Mongolian ambassador has been accredited in Tirana. Agreements on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation have been signed with Bulgaria, Romania, and the GDR. A joint commission has been set up for the same forms of cooperation with Yugoslavia. Agreements have been concluded on scientific and technical cooperation with Cuba and the PRC. Trade turnover with the socialist countries now exceeds three-fourths of the total volume of Albanian foreign trade.

Albania's policy regarding the capitalist countries has become more active. With a number of them—the FRG, France, Greece, Turkey, Italy, and some other states—agreements have been concluded on different forms of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation. There have also been changes in Albania's position regarding multilateral cooperation in the Balkans. After the meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers in Belgrade in February last year Albania actively joined in the process directed at strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation in this region.

Unfortunately, the question of restoring relations with the Soviet Union, broken off in December 1961, has still not found its proper place in Albania's stepping up of foreign policy activity. Our country has repeatedly taken the initiative on this question. The Soviet Union is convinced that overcoming the accretions of the period of estrangement between our countries and searching for mutually acceptable ways to restore normal Soviet-Albanian relations would accord with the interests of both states' peoples.

Congratulating the Albanian people on the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist occupiers and the victory of the people's revolution, Soviet people wish them happiness and prosperity and success in the struggle for peace and friendship among peoples.

West Europe

Gorbachev Arrives in Italy for Official Visit

Welcomed by Cossiga

LD2911144789 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Thousands of Rome residents warmly greeted Mikhail Gorbachev who arrived in Italy on an offical visit today.

Nobody has been welcomed in Rome as warmly as Gorbachev, an Italian television newreader remarked.

The welcoming ceremony took place at Quirinale Palace. At the entrance to the palace Gorbachev was greeted by President Francesco Cossiga of Italy and Quirinale Palace General Secretary Sergio Berlinguer.

The Soviet and Italian national anthems were performed. After inspecting a guard of honour, Gorbachev, accompanied by the Italian president, went to the palace where Cossiga introduced to him Senate President Giovanni Spadolini, Chamber of Deputies President Leonilde Otti, and Constitutional Court President Francesco Saja, as well as members of the Italian delegation at the forthcoming talks.

Talks With Cossiga

LD2911145289 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has started his first meeting with President Fransesco Cossiga of Italy in the Presidential Palace.

The meeting is the top story in Italian newspapers today.

The Soviet-Italian summit is considered here an important step to the expansion of cooperation between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, and as a factor stimulating the implementation of the "common European home" idea.

Further on Talks

LD2911212789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2030 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Rome, 29 Nov (TASS)—A conversation took place here today between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Francesco Cossiga, president of Italy, in the presence of state figures from both sides who are participating in the program for the Soviet leader's official visit to that country.

Greeting each other on behalf of their peoples, Mikhail Gorbachev and Francesco Cossiga highly evaluated the just-begun visit which has absorbed the best in Soviet-Italian relations, reflects the fact that their role in European and world affairs is not something ordinary, and reflects the long-standing and stable liking of the two peoples for each other.

The interlocutors expressed their judgements on the most important phenomena of the contemporary world and on the fundamentally new character of events.

The president of Italy spoke of Soviet perestroyka and its initiators as a factor in the events which have unfolded in Europe, of the fact that they were caused objectively, and of the trust of the Italian leadership and the Italian people in the Soviet Union's policy at this complex and turbulent time.

Mikhail Gorbachev highly values the understanding which the USSR's policy is receiving from Italy, its president, and government at this especially complex moment. Talking about the peculiarities of the transitional period which Europe has so energetically entered, he drew attention to the danger of being late in grasping the meaning of the process and transforming it into real policy.

The high level of mutual understanding in Soviet-Italian relations was noted.

PRAVDA Report on Cossiga Talks

PM3011102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting With Italian President F. Cossiga"]

[Text] At the end of the ceremony, a talk took place in the Quirinal Palace between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Cossiga in the presence of statesmen taking part on both sides in the events envisaged by the visit program.

Greeting each other on behalf of their peoples, the two leaders assessed highly the visit which has begun and which has absorbed the best in Soviet-Italian relations and reflects the out-of-the-ordinary nature of their role in European and world affairs and the peoples' long-standing, firm sympathy for each other. That is why a purely human, emotional element was markedly present in the politically and philosophically substantive talk which took place.

The interlocutors expressed their views on the most important phenomena of the world today and on the fundamental novelty of what is taking place, requiring in-depth consideration and a high degree of responsibility from all states, interstate associations, and military-political alliances.

The president spoke of Soviet perestroyka and its initiators as a factor in the events which have developed in Europe, of their objective causes and of the trust the Italian leadership and people have in the Soviet Union's policy in this complex, tempestuous time.

M.S. Gorbachev assessed highly the understanding which the USSR's policy is encountering at this particularly complex moment from Italy and its president and government. Speaking of the features of the transitional period which Europe has entered so vigorously, he drew attention to the danger of delaying a consideration of the processes and their transformation into real policy because that leads to the point where life is already in a new era while political thinking remains the same. For instance, on the one hand, people are speaking of the disappearance of the threat of war but are continuing in the field of disarmament and in international economic relations to act on the basis of the old fears and suspicions and distrust and even the from a position of strength policy.

We in the Soviet Union, M.S. Gorbachev noted, have overcome this contradiction via the new thinking and we are appearing before the West not as petitioners requesting we be met halfway but as pioneers with proposals which accord with common interests and proceed from the need to transform common problems or from the priority of general human values dictated by global challenges.

In this connection, the high degree of mutual understanding in Soviet-Italian relations and both sides' characteristic ability to pick up the majority of the changes taking place and to react to them politically lend these relations special significance.

Wreath-Laying in Venice Square

LD2911160889 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 29 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev now on an official visit here, laid a wreath to the Altare De La Patria Memorial Complex in Rome's Venice Square.

Soviet and Italian national anthems were played and Gorbachev inspected the guard of honour.

The ceremony took place after the Soviet leader had conversed with the Italian President Francesco Cossiga in Palazzo de Quirinale.

Tours Rome

PM3011113589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading: "On State Visit; M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in Italy; Hospitality and Warmth"]

[Text] Rome, 29 Nov—Thousands of the capital's inhabitants gathered at the entrance to the Quirinal Palace. The Soviet leader was met by Italian President Francesco Cossiga. They exchanged greetings. The anthems of the USSR and Italy were played. After inspecting the guard of honor, M.S. Gorbachev accompanied by the Italian president went into the palace, where F. Cossiga presented Giovanni Spadolini, chairman of the Senate, Leonilde Iotti, chairman of the parliament chamber of deputies, and Francesco Say [surname as transliterated], chairman of the constitutional court, and members of the Italian delegation at the forthcoming talks to him.

Thousands of Rome's inhabitants gathered in the city center on Venice Square. One of the chief memorials of modern Italy—the monument to King Victor Emmanuel II symbolizing a united Italy—is situated here. This memorial complex, which Romans call the "altar of the fatherland," was visited in the middle of the day by M.S. Gorbachev and members of the Soviet delegation. They visited Venice square accompanied by Italian Foreign Minister Fermo Mino Martinazzoli. After the inspection of the guard of honor and the performance of the state anthems of the USSR and Italy the Soviet leader laid a wreath at the memorial.

One cannot fail to be delighted by the grandeur of Rome's historic remains. The Colosseum and the Forum, the Capitol Hill, the Pantheon, the Caracalla baths, and many other monuments have become an organic part of the city's modern portrait. They incorporate the pride of the Italians and a reminder of how fragile are our civilization and its supreme achievements. And how important are common efforts by all peoples to defend everything which has been created and to build and not to destroy. During his tour of the city M.S. Gorbachev stopped off near the Capitol. The Romans gathered there welcomed him warmly.

Inside the Colosseum M.S. Gorbachev was surrounded by journalists. Veritable "gladiatorial battles" were launched among them for the opportunity to ask him a question.

"How are you being welcomed in Italy?" one correspondent asked him.

"Wonderfully!" Mikhail Sergeyevich smiled. "I think that is characteristic of our present-day relations. The traditions of friendly relations between us are many centuries old. Today this openness on the part of the Soviet Union, too, intensifies what has long existed between our peoples."

Answering another question M.S. Gorbachev noted:

"Italian politicians have always preserved a sense of realism and balance in their opinions, have displayed restraint and demonstrated a constructive approach, which has helped defuse difficult situations. That is the Italians' irreplaceable contribution."

In the afternoon M.S. Gorbachev visited Chigi Palace—the Italian Government's official residence. Here he had a brief one on one talk with G. Andreotti, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, and then the Soviet-Italian talks began on an expanded basis. Leading political observers and television commentators predict success for these talks and give top markets to the state of Soviet-Italian relations. M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Italy, the newspaper IL MESSAGGERO writes, is being welcomed here with a feeling of satisfaction in connection with the rapid changes in the Soviet Union. If the West can understand to the end the radical change initiated by Gorbachev and can renounce distrust and the desire for hegemony, the newspaper L'UNITA writes, then this could lead in the future to the dissolution of opposing military-political blocs and the establishment of a radically new system of international relations.

Unscheduled Talk With Journalists

LD3011143189 Rome Raiuno Television Network in Italian 1230 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] And now we come to the visit by the leader of the Kremlin. Gorbachev's second day is full of appointments and began at 0930 [0830 GMT] at Villa Abamelek with talks with PCI [Italian Communist Party] Secretary General Achille Occhetto, which we will return to later. Then, he went by car to Villa Madama for talks with the prime minister and to sign intergovernmental agreements. This morning as well, the presidential car's journey was followed by crowds lining the streets and on his arrival [at Villa Madama] Gorbachev spent some unscheduled time with journalists. [video shows motorcade and Gorbachev speaking to journalists outside Villa Madama]

[Begin correspondent Marco Ravaglioli recording] [video shows Gorbachev and Andreotti outside Villa Madama with a large group of journalists] It is today that will decide how we will be tomorrow. I think that we are on the right road. I am sure everything will have a good ending. Smiling, optimistic, but also very determined, following yesterday's triumph, Gorbachev once again did not avoid direct contact with the public, accepting a debate with the journalists who were waiting for him at the entrance to Villa Madama, a charming and discreet venue for political talks with Andreotti and De Michelis.

[Ravaglioli speaks over background sound of Gorbachev speaking in Russian] The Soviet leader spoke about perestroyka. We are experiencing the most difficult stage, he said, but there are no roads to turn back along.

Gorbachev also accepted provocative questions such as the one by the Moscow journalist who asked him to explain what part of all the Kremlin's international activity will end up in the pockets of the Soviet families. I don't believe that my compatriots think along such narrow lines, Gorbachev replied, outlining, however, the need for international support for the economic and social changes taking place in the Soviet Union and recalling that even from the material point of view, Moscow has advantages to gain from closer cooperation with the West.

But the Kremlin's leader made no secret of expecting a lot from Italy. The prospects are good, he said. While others have hesitated on developing relations with us, the Italians have always collaborated and now, Gorbachev concluded, great prospects are being opened up. This is an optimism which seems to have found full agreement during the Villa Madama meeting. [video shows Gorbachev, Andreotti, Sheverdnadze and De Michelis entering Villa Madama: then seen sitting round conference table]

While the foreign ministers signed 13 agreements, exchanged notes and joint statements, Gorbachev and Andreotti reached an agreement on a significant joint poltical statement, tackling the subjects of disarmament, the environment, and economic collaboration, as well as human rights, people's self-determination, and European unity. Now the attention of those watching Gorbachev's visit to Rome is focussed on the Campidoglio. This afternoon, in the Julius Caesar chamber, the Moscow leader will make a speech, about which there is great expectation. [end recording]

Gorbachev, Andreotti Meeting

LD2911205789 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 29 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met Giulio Andreotti at Palazzo Chigi, the official residence of the Italian Government, this afternoon. The one-on-one meeting continued for about 1.5 hours.

Soviet-Italian talks began later in the day. Gorbachev described the current stage of perestroyka in detail: the entire society has started moving, political structures are changing and bills that radically change production relations have been brought up for a nationwide discussion.

The task now is to expedite the economic reform. There is no way back. The administrative-and-command system has exhausted itself, in the main. Perestroyka will go on.

The talks are to resume on November 30.

Soviet-Italian talks at foreign ministers' level were held on Wednesday. Under discussion were the problems of all-European integration, the building of a common European home, the Mediterranean, the situation in Lebanon and in the Middle East.

The sides considered it necessary to hold regular political consultations, including those at foreign ministers' level.

Talks Begin

LD2911190989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The official visit to Italy by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, is continuing. Comrade Gorbachev arrived at the official seat of the Italian Government this afternoon where he had a short, one-on-one conversation with Italian Prime Minister Guilio Andreotti.

Soviet-Italian talks with a wider circles of participants then began. On the Soviet side, the participants are: USSR Foreign minister Shevardnadze and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yakovlev, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Lukyanov—I'm sorry, Lunkov—the USSR's ambassador to Italy; and Chernyayev, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

On the Italian side, they are: Foreign Minister De Michelis; Salleo, Italy's ambassador to the USSR; and staff of the president's and prime minister's secretariat.

Moscow TV on Gorbachev's Meetings

LD2911220189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Video report over video by correspondent in Rome A. Tikhomirov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Pincio viewpoint. From here one can get a wonderful panorama of the wonderful view. The motorcade arrived here at dusk. Here, like everywhere there are greetings from Italians and attempts by journalists to get closer, see better, hear more. [video shows the viewpoint and and view; Gorbachev and entourage arriving. He pauses half way up some steps to speak to journalists]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I am expecting serious talks and good meetings with Italians. My expectations have not only been justified, but a very important and considerable dialogue took place. I felt this in the first conversation with the president.

[Question] Do you wish to say anything to the Italians?

[Gorbachev] I have brought warm and cordial greetings to the Italians from the USSR. Let all Italian men and women know that they have many good and loyal friends in the USSR. [end recording] [video shows Gorbachev standing in crowd with Raisa, Shevardnadze is standing behind]

The motorcade moves on to the Chuigi Palace where Comrade Gorbachev is to have a meeting with Giulio Andreotti, head of the Italian Government. [video of arrival and greetings]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is met by Premier Giulio Andreotti. [passage omitted]

In Giulio Andreotti's office a tete-a-tete took place between him and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

At the same time, in a neighbouring hall there was a meeting between the Soviet and Italian delegations. [video of meetings]

Then the Soviet-Italian talks began. Taking part in them for the Soviet side were Comrades Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Lunkov, and Chernyayev.

Taking part in the talks from the Italian side were Premier Andreotti, Foreign Minister De Michelis, Ambassador Salleo, and other officials. [video shows talks]

Cossiga Speech at Gorbachev Dinner

LD2911211789 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 29 Nov 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Rome November 29 TASS—President Francesco Cossiga of Italy expressed a sense of profound satisfaction over Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Italy. Cossiga made a speech at a dinner today in honour of the visiting Soviet president.

"Your official visit to Rome," Cossiga said, "has coincided with an exceptionally important juncture in the life of our continent which is being a witness to, and the chief protagonist of, a spectacular development process, in the end of which there is already emerging with sufficient clarity—as a concrete prospect rather than an ideal wish—the possibility to overcome the continent's division. Noting the bold realism and vision of the Soviet leader, Cossiga stressed that Italy sees in them the possibility to open up a new era of cooperation, an era in which dialogue will replace confrontation and active cooperation supersede coexistence, an era which will effectively be more happy and prosperous.

Together with its European and Atlantic partners, the Italian president went on to say, "Italy intends to make its contribution to defining the shape of the emerging Europe, to that desire to restore the ideal unity of the continent and our common civilisation, the top-most goals and desires of which are enshrined in the concept of Europe extending to Canada and the United States."

"The strengthening of inter-European relations and the process of evolution which we are now witnessing in the east of Europe must fit in with the general picture of stability, avoid manifestations of national egoism and resist the forces aiming at fostering uncertainty." Cossiga said. "This goal may be achieved in a more effective way if we give up the threat or use of force and also if we do not succumb to the temptation to achieve our own security at the expense of the security of others."

"We intend through joint efforts to take concrete steps aimed at resolving crisis situations and problems the modern world is confronting us with," the president said. "I know that your country pursues the same goals." The Italian president described Gorbachev's coming summit with George Bush near Italy, in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, as further proof of this. All peoples hope, Cossiga said, "that the summit will provide a new powerful impetus to a positive phase of renewal and progress which is now being experienced by the international community in an atmosphere of ever growing trust and mutual respect.

Referring to the prospects of Soviet-Italian bilateral relations, including in the economic field, the Italian president said that perestroyka in the USSR is contributing to a qualitative leap in the transition from purely commercial relations to economic cooperation in the broad sense of the word thus opening up possibilities of cooperation in many leading fields.

Italy is prepared to place the fruits of its forward directedness and economic potential at the service of developing relations with the Soviet Union, Francesco Cossiga said in conclusion.

Gorbachev Dinner Speech

PM3011135I189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 30 Nov p 2

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at a 29 November welcoming banquet in Rome: "Common Responsibility for the Fate of Peace"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President! Ladies and gentlemen!

The first day of our stay in Italy has been full of impressions and exciting events. These events have encompassed a great many things. Above all, I cannot fail to mention the short and expressive moments of contact with Italians which I had in the streets. Their faces shone with goodwill. Their words contained sincere feelings and genuine interest in our country, which is experiencing its new historic ascent.

Permit me to express heartfelt gratitude to the people of Rome and to all Italians and to thank them for their hospitality and cordiality, for their good wishes to the Soviet people and for their empathy with our perestroyka.

Mr President! We share your assessment of the first Soviet-I Italian summit meeting on Italian soil. Permit me also to tell you that we value highly our friendship with the Italian people and the constancy of the leadership of Italy in improving our interstate relations.

In postwar Europe, Italy and the Soviet Union have more than once been the first to undertake attempts to build bridges between the two parts of the divided continent. Their relations have more than once played the part of a sort of stabilizer amid sharp fluctuations in the atmosphere in Europe.

Today too, when Europe and the whole world are embarking on a qualitatively new phase of development, which we call a period of peace, of course, the question arises: What is the role of our two countries and the Soviet-Italian factor in this rapidly changing world, at this crucial stage in history?

The dialogue which we conduct regularly and today's conversations show that the Soviet Union and Italy are conscious of their responsibility for improving international relations and, above all, in the construction of a new Europe. We value the leaders of Italy as statesmen who have responded to our perestroyka, our new thinking, have grasped the idea of "the European home" and are making their own original contribution to the development of the Helsinki process.

This idea has many aspects. Some have found support and have already "gone down well" ["poshli v rabotu"], as they say; others have provoked more doubts. But now I would like to draw attention to the topicality of one of them—to the connection between the internal sociopolitical processes in various countries and international, foreign political processes, including disarmament and the reduction of military confrontation.

From this stems the special responsibility of all participants in European politics for ensuring that these processes have a positive influence on each other, to prevent there being any breakdowns in either one or the other and, even more so, any attempts to use them for egoistic ends or to satisfy ideological ambitions.

This kind of European policy owes itself to the ennobling influence of the Helsinki principles. And now, it is in particular need of development and the acceleration of movement toward Helsinki two. For the European community of nations and states needs, more than ever before, a clear perspective and hope for the preservation of the peace process.

All the issues, including highly complex ones, which Europe has inherited from the war and the postwar period, can be resolved successfully only on the principles and only within the framework of the Helsinki process.

Real policy has to do with realities. Hence the necessity for strict observance of the principles of non-interference and free choice.

Overloading Europe with weapons and troops by the two military and political alliances is also a reality. It is necessary to think about how one is to move on from this condition, which is dangerous in itself, to a new situation. Efforts from both sides will be required, and well-considered steps, including those designed to change the nature of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The latter need transformation, so that they are changed via a deepening of mutual understanding into instruments of cooperation. And it is already being arranged. The generals of both blocs are travelling to meet each other, are conversing in a business-like way, and are even coming to agreement. That was unthinkable just 2 years ago.

The EEC and CEMA have made contact, and new pan-European institutions are emerging. This, too, is a sign of the times. This must be welcomed.

We are deeply satisfied with the fact that we and the Italian leadership are in agreement on the whole and in the main on matters now connected with overcoming crisis phenomena in Europe. This means that Soviet-Italian relations will continue to play their own specific, balancing role, which generates constructive opportunities.

There are more and more similar points in the positions of our countries in such important areas of world politics as regional problems and conflicts, whether it is Namibia, the Horn of Africa, or Cambodia. It is understood that the USSR and Italy are particularly concerned to see that shifts for the better should be achieved at last in the cause of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Near East, and of a compromise decision for the Cyprus issue. We will continue to work jointly for that.

The Mediterranean as a whole is a subject of fixed attention for us. It is the cradle of not only European but also of Arab, Maghreb, and Jewish history and culture. The peoples of our country have received something from each of them over the centuries. Today the Mediterranean is also a zone on which our security depends. Trading operations with many countries located there, and not only with them, are implemented mostly using precisely this waterway. The Mediterranean and the Black Sea are a single ecological and hydrological system. We need that system to be balanced.

In short, all that is happening in this most important region of the world affects us closely.

Being in Italy, I consider it my duty to confirm that the entire package of Soviet proposals which was advanced in its time in Belgrade remains in force. They also contain opportunities for joint quests.

Less than a year remains until the holding—at the decision of the Vienna meeting—of a conference on the Mediterranean at Palma- de-Mallorca. We would like it to produce results which are worthy of the current period of deep changes in Europe and the world.

The Soviet Union proposes on the threshold of it and by way of preparation for it the following:

- To form an interparliamentary, scientific, and public group to assist in drafting the subject range of the conference;
- To arrange contact between the USSR and the EC, and between the CEMA and the EC, on economic problems of the Mediterranean;
- To begin consultations with Italy, the United States and, possibly, at the UN Security Council, on problems relating to the presence, on a permanent basis, of the navies of the USSR and the United States in the Mediterranean Sea. It was possible to find some justification for it in the period of the "cold war." Now the situation has changed.

We are also in favor of beginning consultations between the USSR, the United States, and all Mediterranean states on a multilateral agreement on preventing incidents at sea and in the airspace above it.

I am posing this question in the context of the overall disarmament process. We cannot imagine this process without leaving such an important type of strategic weapons as naval forces untouched [sentence as published]. In light of the current talks on other types of weapons, the reluctance of the United States and NATO to begin talks on this problem cannot but cause alarm. Much of what has been achieved recently may end up in doubt, even under threat.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen!

I have already said that I value highly the involvement in and attention of the Italians to everything that is happening in our country. Of course, perestroyka is our internal affair. The profound renewal of the country is connected with it, as is the improvement of people's life. However, we understand the interest which it is giving rise to in the world. For it is a question of such a country as the Soviet Union. And the changes in our country lead to drawing countries and peoples closer together, to openess in their relations, and to trust and cooperation.

We put forward the ideas of perestroyka, formulated the policy of perestroyka, and received the support of the people. The majority of Soviet people are firmly in favor of perestroyka.

The next 2-3 years will determine everything that will become of the country. Now, it is at the most crucial stage whereby ideas are being implemented and new forms of life are taking shape. On the whole, the changes are taking place in the correct direction.

However, transformations of such a scale could not happen without difficulties, without painful processes, and even without destabilization. However, this is such a destabilization which is the negation of the former stability, that very stability which led us into deadlock. We must destroy it, for it is holding back the development of society. By dismantling the command and administrative system, we are creating political institutions for the renewal of society.

But restructuring means above all a restructuring of thinking. That is the biggest difficulty and the main problem.

Much of what is taking place now is linked precisely to this—with the process of thinking through the need for and essence of the changes and their significance for the country and for every person. Far from everyone has yet realized that in the final analysis restructuring is in everyone's interests. Some people are quicker to grasp an understanding of this, others are slower. There are others who just do not want to understand.

The moment we are living through obliges us to be very responsible and very careful. We cannot permit either a rolling back or a deviation from the course of restructuring, or any disruptions in policy. And we have to part company with both those who are holding back headway, and those who propose adventurist recipes for tackling acute problems.

We have now been faced, on a practical level, with the task of accelerating the reform, accelerating the transformations. The groundwork has already been laid. There are problems that have to be tackled without delay, because they give rise to tension, they fray people's nerves—the state of the consumer market and finances. Thus, while tackling long-term tasks, we must effect a maneuver to improve finances and the situation in the market. That is currently a matter of the greatest complexity.

Ladies and gentlemen, what we are doing now is necessary not just for us. It is necessary for the whole of civilization. Without perestroyka in the USSR there will not be that change to a new and better world which an increasingly large proportion of mankind is supporting.

The question is often asked in the West how they can help us. The greatest help is understanding our processes and problems. We are in favor of cooperation, for embarking on new forms of it. But we must create perestroyka ourselves. No Western riches can replace what we must do ourselves. We, ourselves, must understand everything completely, overcome the inertia of the old, reveal and consolidate all the restructuring strata of society. For we have colossal potential. We have vast natural wealth, a powerful production apparatus, an invaluable intellectual potential. We must put all of this into motion via perestroyka.

I would like to end this theme with the following:

We know that authoritative leaders in the West and the broad public circles wish our perestroyka success and welcome our foreign policy. I have seen this personally during my visits to foreign countries, and now here in your country, although I was well aware of the Italian position even before this.

But, it seems to us that we can arrive at a new period of peace via serious changes in domestic and foreign policy not only in the east, but also in the West. There are manay encouraging symptoms confirming the emergence of this mutually interlinked process. We, naturally, would like it to develop more quicky and gain greater strength.

We understand that such a process will not occur without difficulties. It will have to surmount obstacles. And I would like to say, with full frankness, addressing not only you: Do not lag behind in your own restructuring with regard to the socialist world, gentlemen! Time is precious! The temptation to gain points at the expense of the other side is fraught with losses for both.

Why did I decide to say that? It is because this thought comes into your head each time that you acquaint yourself with NATO documents and with some ideas which are "doing the rounds" in those circles and you learn of certain activities in the spirit of those ideas and documents. It is time to take into account that the contemporary world is not two mutually exclusive civilizations, but one common one, in which the values of all mankind and freedom of choice dominate. We, the Soviet Union and the CPSU, have departed from that approach, and there is no reason for the West to cling to it.

The "cold war" has ended or is ending, not because there are victors and vanquished, but precisely because there are none of either. Consequently, it is perfectly possible to avoid a period of "cold peace" and to proceed more boldly toward a peaceful period in the history of mankind.

Your famous Florentine, Francesco Guicciardini—those were the days!—drew this conclusion from Italy's history: "The greatest virtue, beside which all others fade, is to do harm unto no one and to help everyone as far as you are able." And now, we and you, the USSR and Italy, are prepared to follow that wise advice in the future and always.

That advice will probably be materialized in the two dozen agreements which will be signed during these days. They include such new themes of interaction as the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters and catastrophes and the fight against organized crime and the narcotics trade. And what about the readiness to engage jointly in examining the problems of converting military industry? Surely that is a sign of the times! Very recently there could not even have been any talk of anything of that sort.

Major tasks aimed at moving away from simple trade ties to cooperation with an integrational implication lie at the basis of long-term programs.

Agreements on youth exchanges, on cultural centers in Rome and Moscow, and on cooperation to protect cultural monuments are ready for signing.

I would like as a result of the visit to give an impetus to the joint work on implementing the idea of "centers of European civilization." The idea is, after all, of Soviet-Italian origin. These would be international centers of joint creativity and instruction, places of contact for the European intelligentsia. The first such center is being set up already in the Soviet Union near Leningrad, on the basis of the Benois family museum. There are also other projects.

We know that similar projects are also being worked on in Italy, on Capri, and in Venice, Sorrento, and Florence, at the initiative of intellectuals and local authorities, with the backing of the government and industrialists.

Solidarity and charity. Let me end my speech today with these. Russian sailors in Messina 80 years ago; the "Italian town" in Spitak in Armenia today. These are symbols of the keen affection which lives on in the hearts of our peoples. Here, too, is confirmation of the most important thing we have in comon. We are members of one and the same human race.

I would like to wish you, Mr Cossiga, Mr Andreotti, Mrs Andreotti and all those present happiness and prosperity.

To the successes of "Golden Italy" as Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin called your country!

To cooperation and friendship between our countries and peoples!

30 Nov Activities

LD3011105389 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

The second day of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Italy is packed with business meetings and conversations.

Early today he met Italian Communist Party Chief Achille Occhetto and other leaders of the Italian Communist Party.

Soviet-Italian talks will continue at the residence of the Italian Senate. At first the talks will include only officials of the delegation, later the forum will expand. A large package of Soviet-Italian documents is expected to be signed at the end of the negotiations.

By mid-day the Soviet president will meet at his residence representatives of the Senate and House of Representatives, and leaders of the Political parties of the Government coalition.

Toward evening Gorbachev will meet with academics, cultural figures and city authorities at the city hall on Capitol Hill.

This evening Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti will give a dinner for the Soviet president and his wife.

Signing of Declaration 30 Nov

LD3011132689 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti signed a joint Soviet-Italian declaration on Friday at a ceremony which capped Gorbachev's official visit to Italy [as received].

Talks between Gorbachev and Italian officials resulted in the signing of a package of bilateral agreements on economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two countries, including the setting up of joint ventures, scientific projects, environmental research and space exploration. Separate documents were signed on the conversion of military industries, emergency forecasting, and the setting up of cultural and information centres between Italy and the Soviet Union, and other aspects of cooperation.

Contents of Joint Agreements

LD3011161789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's state visit to Italy is continuing. Rome is on the line. At the microphone is our special correspondent Viktor Levin.

[Levin] The signing of joint Soviet-Italian documents has just ended. A declarationt which summarizes the results of the visit stresses that the sides have jointly arrived at the following conclusions: The world should be rid of disasters and of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. It is therefore necessary to strive to regulate all conflicts by peaceful means. It is also necessary to apply all efforts in order to switch from confrontation to dialogue, from enmity to cooperation and from suspicion to openness. The results of the visit are summed up in a joint Soviet-Italian statement. The talks have concluded. Tomorrow, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will meet in Milan with representatives of business circles, and will hold a conversation with Giulio Andreotti. This will no longer be to summarize the present results, but, so to speak, and undertaking for the future. In my view, the central event tomorrow will be Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the Vatican and his meeting with Pope John Paul II. So wrapping up the results of the visit to Italy today is quite logical. A few words about the joint agreements. Today—I won't read the joint statement—19 were signed, but it would be quite justified to include among them a further 14 signed during the visit, but at another level. Thus, you get 33. Among the documents signed today are new themes of interaction such as the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters and catastrophes; combatting organized crime and the drugs business. An agreement was reached on their willingness to jointly consider the problems of the conversion of the military industry.

To this should be added the agreement signed on the further development of economic, industrial, and technological cooperation; a long-term development program for such cooperation between our countries up to 2000; an agreement on establishing, and on the activities of a cultural and USSR information center in Rome, and of an Italian institute of culture in Moscow; an agreement on youth exchanges; and an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex was also signed. I think that the sooner we learn—and here, the help of Western firms can be most useful—to process all cultivated production, the sooner we will fill the shelves in food shops. The implementation of these agreements - and let's hope that it isn't long in coming—will produce tangible results to raise the well-being of the Soviet people.

Shishlin on Importance of Gorbachev's Vatican Visit

LD2811183689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Naturally, we must not forget that the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Italy is not just a visit to meet the Italian leaders. It is also a visit to the Vatican—the first visit by a Soviet leader to this small state which wields great influence.

What is more, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with the Pope is by no means simply a courtesy visit. It is not some kind of protocol event. It is a meeting at which a very serious discussion of very serious problems is envisioned.

Italian Newspaper Interviews Ryzhkov

PM2911163689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 28 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov by Ezio Mauro; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—"Italy can have confidence in the future of perestroyka." This is the message that Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov sends our country on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in Rome. This confidence can be based not only on the traditions of cooperation and understanding between Italian and USSR politicians and businessmen, but more specifically on the reform plans that the Soviet Government has ready and that Ryzhkov illustrated to LA REPUBBLICA. The prime minister, who in recent years has become Gorbachev's leading aide in the development of perestroyka, talks about the measures being examined to reform the economy and strengthen social support for reform. He does not deny the difficulties of the present transition phase but expresses confidence in the future and urges Italians to play their part in creating a new international climate: "This is the only way to really help perestroyka." Ryzhkov assures Western partners that the government will resolutely back his line but rules out the recourse to authoritarian forms of command not based on law. Not even the major upheavals under way in Eastern Europe can weaken Gorbachev's USSR and indeed, according to Ryzhkov, they are strengthening it while regenerating socialism. Now, the Soviet prime minister says, it is Italy's turn to respond: "I take the opportunity of this interview to greet LA REPUBBLICA readers and to wish the entire Italian people peace and prosperity. I am sure that the coming summit meeting will definitely contribute to a further normalization of Italian-Soviet and international relations, to the growth of mutual trust, and to cooperation between our countries."

[Mauro] Prime Minister Ryzhkov, as Gorbachev is about to arrive in Rome what is your assessment of political and economic relations between the USSR and Italy at a time of major changes throughout Europe?

[Ryzhkov] I would say that in recent decades Italian-Soviet relations have in many respects become an example for relations between two European countries belonging to two different social and politicomilitary structures. Now Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Rome is the first of its kind in the whole history of our bilateral relations and will undoubtedly boost cooperation, facilitating its development in the best possible way. I must add that we are pleased with our political dialogue with Rome, which has always been stable. Recently, moreover, it is impossible not to observe the rapprochement of our two countries' viewpoints on many topical international issues, including disarmament. Italy is a stable partner of ours in the process of developing all-European building and in the quest for closer East-West cooperation.

[Mauro] At a time when the government itself is asserting the gravity of the economic crisis in the USSR, what message would you send to Italian businessmen?

[Ryzhkov] First, it must be remembered the Italy and the USSR have good traditions of economic cooperation to their mutual benefit. Your country stably occupies fourth place in our trade with the West. The construction of the auto factory at Tolyatti, the agreements on the supply of Soviet gas to Italy, and your companies' assistance in the construction of Soviet light engineering and food plants are all examples—and only the chief ones—of the excellent relations that exist between our two countries.

[Mauro] So is there a place for Italian industry in the Soviet economy of the nineties?

[Ryzhkov] Look, the Italians' entrepreneurship was known even to Shakespeare, who wrote about it: I can only testify, on the basis of my experience of our cooperation, that this entrepreneurial spirit has not been lost. Your businessmen are very active in seizing the opportunities offered by the new economic forms of management, and indeed Italy occupies second or third position in the construction of joint ventures in the USSR. In this connection I would like to recall my recent meeting with the heads of the Cooperatives League, which plays a prominent role as a partner. They proposed a number of interesting projects, which we are examining carefully.

[Mauro] Do you believe Italy can make a specific contribution to perestroyka?

[Ryzhkov] First, I would like to stress that the USSR greatly appreciates the Italians' contribution of goodwill to our radical reforms begun in economic and social life. I openly declare that the Italian Government's stance facilitates and strengthens the western public's opinion of perestroyka, its realization that the new course is irreversible. Of course the process of the renewal of Soviet society is not always smooth and straightforward. Serious problems—especially of a socioeconomic nature—have emerged, and to resolve them we now need to mobilize all our forces. I must now explain clearly, to eliminate any shadow of uncertainty, that we do not want to off-load our problems onto other people's shoulders. We will manage to surmount them ourselves, with our own resources: We realize that nobody can resolve our problems for us. But, having said that, there is no doubt that external conditions can perform a major role. The most useful and effective way of supporting perestroyka is to develop honest cooperation advantageous to both sides. Within this definition I also include the quest for an accord in the Vienna negotiations, an effort of mutual understanding in the disarmament process, an active dialogue on regional problems, and the development of trade and technological and scientific cooperation with no more discrimination.

[Mauro] But is it possible to govern the Soviet economic crisis and bring it under control? Are you, as prime minister, optimistic?

[Ryzhkov] In my opinion, optimism is good and useful only if it is based on calm and rational judgment, on a thorough analysis of the real trends in society's development. We look to the country's future with optimism. Despite all the present difficulties, which sometimes provoke the people's justified dissatisfaction, the people as a whole support perestroyka. Our citizens want to live a better life—and perestroyka means living differently from in the past. Of course the whole program of perestroyka cannot be implemented all at once. But we have a fairly precise plan of action, which applies also to the reform of the economy. Some aspects of this plan are, you could say, of an extraordinary nature and are intended to regulate the population's currency earnings, to restore order in the financial field, and to supply the consumer market. These are the most pressing measures examined for the immediate future. I must frankly admit that they are not all judged positively because some affect people's petty vested interests. But I would add that without these measures it will be absolutely impossible to reform the economy, and we hope that the present situation will be properly understood by the masses and that the government's coming measures will receive the people's support. All this, together with the long-term measures designed to create a new modern and efficient socialist economy, will be at the center of the discussions at the congress of people's deputies beginning 12 December.

[Mauro] You, together with Gorbachev, are the reference point for proposals, criticisms, and demands from increasingly broad sectors of the public, of social and professional groups. Does the miners' strike—with the resurgence of the protest after the government's mediation—not reveal a crisis of consensus in the 5th year of perestroyka?

[Ryzhkov] Undoubtedly consensus—if you understand it as broad social support embracing the entire country—is a precondition for the success of perestroyka. The basis of this consensus in our present situation lies, I believe, in the achievement of visible results for everyone, starting in the socioeconomic sphere. This is why we are now mainly concerned with the economy and are trying to give the broadest sectors of the population the chance of specifically "feeling" the first positive results of perestroyka; seeking to meet the interests of the individual, the labor collective, and the whole of society. Every step along this path will mean attenuating the social tension, strengthening national consensus, and accelerating perestroyka, which is fundamental to all aspects of our society's life.

[Mauro] The major processes of renewal under way in the Eastern European countries are undoubtedly the result of perestroyka, but does the crisis of the communist system throughout the Eastern bloc not threaten to weaken the USSR's influence and role in Europe and the world?

[Ryzhkov] I would say that in the Eastern European countries there is under way a broad democratization of social life, a process of improving socialism. I believe it is right to talk in terms of a new, modern appearance of socialism. For our part, we do not at all link the solidity of our positions to the maintenance of old stereotypes and obsolete orders. On the contrary, many aspects of our relations are undergoing changes based on equality and freedom of choice precisely thanks to the regeneration of those countries' internal life. I believe, in short, not only that the authority and influence of our country and of socialism as a whole will not suffer as a result of these innovations but that they will benefit from them. Ultimately, it seems to me that they lead to a rapprochement between the peoples, making the states more open, and creating new opportunities of multilateral cooperation. The common trend in these changes facilitates the building of the common European home. This benefits everyone. And here it is very important for there to be a signal of response from the West to the East. In fact the pace of this response must be increased. This, because a stable, secure, and democratic Europe is in everyone's interests.

[Mauro] Many sectors of Soviet society—including progressive circles—are demanding "strong methods" from the Kremlin to control the centrifugal tendencies, defend perestroyka, and guarantee the future of reform. How do you, as prime minister, respond to these demands?

[Ryzhkov] I have always believed that the government should be steadfast and resolute in carrying forward the line approved by the party and parliament. A weak government is no use to its country, still less at times of change and development. But its activity absolutely must be based on the law. A precise strategy of progress must be combined with flexible tactics in implementing it, and this applies above all in the phase that our country is going through. We are steadfastly pursuing the policy of a broad and radical renewal of socialist society, while at the time time (together with all social groups and representatives of various movements) we are seeking the truly democratic, least painful, and most helpful ways of achieving the results that we have set ourselves.

Shevardnadze Meets With Former Afghan King

LD3011101889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0952 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome, 30 (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of foreign affairs, who is here in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Italy, met with former King of Afghanistan Muhammad Zahir Shah.

During the conversation there was a mutually-useful productive discussion on questions concerning a political settlement to the Afghan problem.

Gremitskikh Attacks Kohl Remarks on East Germany

*LD2911151289 Hamburg DPA in German
1440 GMT 29 Nov 89*

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—The Soviet Union has accused Chancellor Helmut Kohl of wanting to dictate conditions to the GDR and give the impression that the German question is on the agenda. As Yuriy Gremitskikh, deputy spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told DPA on Wednesday [29 November], commenting on Kohl's speech to the Bundestag the previous day, "we are surprised by some of the preconditions and also certain elements of interference in connection with the GDR." Kohl is trying "to bring the movements which have begun in the GDR onto nationalistic paths.

Gremitskikh referred to the passage in Kohl's speech in which he called for a "fundamental and irreversible change" in the GDR. "Making cooperation dependent on such a precondition is not at all the custom internationally", the spokesman said. The GDR people want "to change their state, their society". It is "a debate within a society".

Kohl put forward his 10-point plan consultation with other states, including the GDR, for which reunification is not on the agenda. "One should not spark off such discussions which make the people all over Europe believe that this was already a point on the agenda of world politics, of Germany policy", Gremitskikh added. He stressed that it is not a matter of Moscow's opposition to the opportunity of a union or confederation, but cited the "standpoints of all European states." [passage omitted]

GDR Spokesman on Kohl Statement

*PM3011132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by own correspondent M. Podklyuchnikov: "Plans for Engulfment Again?"]

[Text] Berlin, 29 Nov—In connection with the "10 program points on German policy" set forth yesterday by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl at the bundestag session, GDR Government representative W. Meyer has issued a statement. It says that the federal chancellor's statements not only ignore reality but also violate the sovereignty and independence of both German states enshrined in the law on the basic principles of relations between them and in the Helsinki Final Act.

"Reunification" is not on the agenda. Stability in relations between the two German states is a decisive prerequisite for security and stability in Europe.

The statement points out that the federal chancellor's proposals on cooperation with the GDR contain interesting proposals which could be the subject of talks. That applies to considerations regarding the possibility of creating joint commissions. At the same time the government representative noted that the GDR is advancing to the fore questions of safeguarding peace and disarmament—topics which the federal chancellor did not mention.

The GDR, W. Meyer said, welcomed with interest the fact that H. Kohl spoke of "confederate structures," while, however, avoiding clear and precise words about how it could only be a case of a confederation between two sovereign states.

The plans for engulfing the GDR which are being nurtured in the FRG are causing disquiet among the public of the German socialist state. The press today publishes an appeal "for our country" issued by eminent politicians, scientists, economists, cultural and church figures, and members of various democratic groupings.

The appeal states that the country is experiencing a profound crisis. The way out of it can lie in its people, insisting on the GDR's autonomy, trying to create a society which would ensure peace and social justice, freedom of movement for all, and the conservation of the environment. Or we will have to come to terms with the fact that under pressure of economic coercion from the FRG socialist material and moral values will start to be sold off and the GDR sooner or later will be engulfed by the FRG.

The document's authors believe that there is still a chance of creating a socialist alternative to the FRG, based on antifascist and humanist ideals. They urge all citizens who share their hopes and concerns to sign this document.

Kohl Reunification Plan Arouses 'Concern'

*LD2911152489 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT
29 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS political analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has set forth in the Bundestag a political programme drawn up by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Western analysts immediately dubbed it the "German reunification plan."

Some newspapers, for instance L'HUMANITE, today qualified the "plan" as interference in the affairs of the German Democratic Republic, while others believe its confederation concept calls for further analysis and specification, because it is impossible to see whether the chancellor has in mind two sovereign German states or something quite different.

Be what it may, the chancellor's statement has produced one obvious result. His "plan" has willingly or unwillingly given fresh hope to those people in West Germany who openly advocate the recarving of European borders. The problem of "reunification" is now in the focus of parliamentary and other debates, eclipsing really vital political problems.

This circumstance cannot but arouse concern.

What is the real situation? Democratisation, renovation of socialism and implementation of the right of peoples to free determination are under way in Eastern Europe. Most political leaders, including those in West Germany, recognise this. But to declare this does not mean to say everything. It should not be forgotten that the right of choice has its own specifics in Europe linked with the outcome of the Second World War, with the continent's political and territorial patterns.

This includes primarily the existence of two German states and two military-political alliances, and the post-war borders confirmed by the Helsinki Final Act. Such are the realities on which the continent's security and stability depend.

In the light of all this one can hardly countenance a situation when a plan is drawn up in a West European capital to modify the existing realities without the consent and participation of its neighbours and partners—all parties to the Helsinki process.

Of course, Helmut Kohl's "plan" is a direct response to the stormy events in the German Democratic Republic. The essence of these events is clear. The new GDR leadership's bold renovation measures met not only the interests and aspirations of the people of that country. They also meet the interests of Europe as a whole, because they are in keeping with the Helsinki process, the Vienna agreements and the European home idea.

Consequently, the task now is to support this positive process and Bonn makes lavish promises to help them. But how can the latter be reconciled with statements that cannot be assessed other than as encroachments upon the sovereignty of a neighbouring state, with the idea of a "confederation" in which one party speaks of two?

Perfectly natural therefore is the reaction aroused by such "reunification" calls in Europe's democratic circles, including in both German states. The GDR press notes that Berlin's policy of openness and actual liquidation of the Berlin Wall does not herald the abolition of state borders.

"Recent events," Ziggi Fries, Bundestag deputy from the Green Party, told a meeting in Bonn, "have shown convincingly that GDR citizens want to steer their own course." She urged the meeting to oppose the "new German megalomania" and to stop rubbing in the idea of "reunification" which actually means "GDR's annexation by West Germany."

The above-said does not mean, of course, that people who reject the calls for "reunification," coming from certain West German circles, are against all changes, that they wish to freeze forever existing realities on the continent. Not at all.

However, it is one thing to seek and find solutions to problems on the basis of respect for the right of every nation, including the right to choose its own road of development without outside pressure or attempts to influence internal processes in this or that country, and quite another thing to whip up changes, to foist one's plans, views, concepts and philosophy on sovereign states...

"It is not Germany's reunification, but greater responsibility of both German states for the cause of peace, cooperation and stabilty that are on the agenda of our negotiations with West Germany," Egon Krenz stressed recently.

This is a clear-cut and constructive stand opening up realistic prospects for continuing and further promoting the Berlin-Bonn dialogue which meets the interests both of Germans and of all the peoples of Europe.

Kohl's Reunification Plan Described

LD3011120489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent Vladimir Kondratyev]

[Text] Bonn— A view on the problem of reciprocal relations between the two German states.

[Vladimir Kondratyev] As far as we can tell, Helmut Kohl does not intend to put up any longer with reproaches that he has no clear line in relation to the new developments in the German Democratic Republic. Yesterday intense work went on late into the night at his office on a final text of the chancellor's speech to the Bundestag, which was anounced as a plan, as a concrete scenario for achieving German unity. [video shows Kondratyev speaking to camera outside chancellor's office]

Today, before the speech, at a briefing to a selected circle of journalists, including, for the first time, Soviet television, the government official spokesman, Minister [of State Secretary] Klein, and one of the chancellor's closest advisers, Teltschik, explained the basic tenets behind Kohl's thinking. They confirmed that is was a personal initiative of the chancellor, and not the program of the whole coalition government cabinet. However, this is not all that important. The chancellor's powers under the Constitution are great. Far more serious is the fact that, as it was made clear, in elaborating the ten points of the plan, the opinion of the GDR was virtually not considered, and yet without it any idea in this case, whatever it may be, will remain an abstract model. [video shows press conference]

How does the chancellor see the future? What does he specifically propose? He believes that new chances are opening up to overcome the division of the continent and the German fatherland. The decisive prerequisite was, in his words, the Soviet policy of reforms in domestic and foreign policy. Everyone sees that a new stage in history is beginning, going outside the framework of the status quo in Europe. True, no one knows how a united Germany will look. The Germans, the chancellor assures, will never again be a threat to anyone. The process of reunification must keep pace with European integration. The Common Market can become the basis for European unity. Quoting the continuity of German history, the chancellor points out that it was always a confederation and federation which were the organizational forms of Germany's statehood. The FRG is ready to develop a confederated structure with the GDR with the final aim of creating a federation. As interim steps the chancellor favors the formation of joint government at commissions and a joint parliamentary organ.

At the final stage, the Germans of FRG and the GDR must decide themselves whether there will be two German states or one. Any decision will be respected and observed. On the other hand, the chancellor and his entourage have no doubt what the choice will be—naturally in favor of reunification. The preliminary condition to the GDR leadership of holding back economic aid has been somewhat modified. It can start before free elections are held if the GDR Constitution and election law are changed in the spirit of reform. People in the FRG consider that the chancellor's announcement of this multistage plan at this particular time is intended to influence the forthcoming dialogue between Bush and Gorbachev. [video shows Kohl speaking to Bundestag followed by standing ovation by major section of MP's]

At the end of the briefing at the press department I tried to get an interview with Teltschik. He did not want to do this before the chancellor spoke and the debate took place in parliament. And yet, I asked, if we take a hypothetical situation of German reunification, will the FRG be prepared to renounce its participation in NATO? Well, you see, says Teltschik, that is precisely the sort of question which I cannot answer. Neither did the chancellor in his speech. [video shows Kondratyev trying to interview Teltschik]

Political Observer Weighs Views on German Unity

PM2911120589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "At the Center of Europe..."]

[Text] Setting off for Bonn following a kind invitation from the FRG Embassy, I hoped to collect material for an article about the state, problems, and difficulties of Soviet-FRG relations. However, the strong winds and storms over the GDR, which effectively brought down the Berlin wall, definitely altered my intentions...

On my return to Moscow I closely studied the newspaper files for the relevant days. I found no trace of the hurricane that I had just witnessed. The basic outline of the events was set out in an extremely laconic, calm, even somewhat dismissive fashion. The bare, emotionless report, devoid of generalizations, seemed unusually tasteless. The main point—the sense of the historic significance and immensity of what was happening—had in my view disappeared, vanished .

The U.S. paper THE BOSTON GLOBE has published the following sequence of dates: 1789-1848-1917-1989. Is that debatable? Perhaps. But the fundamental character of the changes whose epicenter is in the Soviet Union and which, in the wake of Hungary and Poland, are transforming the GDR and Bulgaria and returning spring to Prague in the fall is quite indisputable. Postwar Europe is collapsing before our eyes and receding into the past. The socioeconomic and political structures which arose as the direct result of World War II are crumbling before our eyes. A new, different Europe is springing up before our eyes. But what kind of Europe precisely? It is as yet hard to tell. Various options are possible. There is the Soviet Union's chosen option which appears under the metaphor of the "common European home." That is a Europe of reason and detente, a Europe of common interests, interdependence, and cooperation.

The way to the new Europe raises questions of a sharp reduction in the level of the continent's militarization, the future of the military-political blocs and the economic alliances, and the nature of the changes within the "isms" which have split Europe. Of course, the way to the new Europe—and this is particularly marked in the FRG—raises the question of the future of the German nation.

Here is a curious and, possibly, essential detail. While observing long rallies and demonstrations in various GDR cities I never noticed or heard a single slogan or appeal calling for the "amalgamation" of the GDR and the FRG. Nevertheless the mass flight of Germans from East to West, the almost explosive democratization of political life in the GDR, and the promises of radical economic reforms are perceived by many people in the FRG in the light of the German question, the "reunification" of Germany. At any rate this question was the center of the debate over the future of Europe. I was also involved in that.

A certain degree of duality infused the atmosphere of the conversations I had, as it does the overall political atmosphere in the FRG. On the one hand, the incipient dismantling of the GDR regime and the opening of the border have provoked undoubted joy and have been perceived as a clear signal of approaching "reunification." But, on the other, people have tried to hide and dampen this joy in order not to frighten off the longed-for moment. By and large, if we are talking about politicians, the second side clearly outweighed the first and emotions were strictly controlled by logic.

I received an exposition of FRG policy on the German question from the horse's mouth, so to speak. Since P. Mladenov took up the post of general secretary, H.-D. Genscher has become as it were the dean of European foreign ministers. He has held the post for more than 15 years now in the FRG. Under complex conditions, often subjected to pressure from the Right, he has been able to develop and advance the Ostpolitik initiated by such people as W. Brandt, E. Bahr, and W. Scheel. He does not like abrupt movements. A considered approach, consistency, and understanding of the FRG's role and place in the European concert, work for the future—that is probably the very "Genscherism" which has made Genscher one of the most popular political figures in Bonn.

The minister's thoughts on the German question can be summed up in the following way: The FRG's foreign policy centers on its alliance-policy commitments, detente, the acceleration of disarmament processes, the demilitarization of East-West relations, and the preservation of firm and reliable stability in Europe. It is only within this kind of framework that the question of the unity of the German nation can be considered. All hint of force and strong-arm pressure is ruled out. Self-determination and freedom of choice play the deciding role. Any decision that results from the free will of the GDR's inhabitants is acceptable to the FRG. "We do not want the Germans to cause Europe any problems again," the minister said. That is why the German question is regarded exclusively as part of the European organization, as one element of a policy aimed at overcoming the division of Europe.

We do not consider ourselves in any way the guardians of the GDR, the minister noted, and we do not want to foist our ideas on anyone. I did not object. Although I must, perhaps, say that it will not always prove possible to avoid the temptation. The chancellor, of course, also opposes pressure. He mentioned the aid that the FRG intends to offer the GDR. And he elaborated right away: This aid can "only be successful if the system of state economic planning is replaced by a market economy structure linked with social commitments." On the whole, do as I do...

I had meetings with representatives from all parties represented in the Bundestag. Only the "Green" H. Lippelt opposes "reunification." The rest are in favor. This corresponds approximately with the sentiments in the country. According to press data, 87 percent of West Germans are in favor of reunification. However, I frequently heard it said that this is not on today's agenda. There is still "a very long way to go" until "reunification," I was consoled by Mrs D. Wilms, federal minister for inter-German relations.

"The special fascination of reunification over the decades," SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG said ironically, "has been that it was not expected to happen tomorrow or the day after." It seems that there is now a hope of this happening—albeit the day after the day after tomorrow. But a host of problems have also appeared today. Many of them are linked with the fall flood of refugees. W. Schaeuble, FRG minister of internal affairs, appealed to GDR citizens "to seriously consider their decision to leave." But West Berlin Governing Mayor W. Momper expressed an even more definite opinion. The main question, he said, is "how we can help change conditions in the GDR so that people want to stay there. That is what is required of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany." Obviously, this task has a solution. Since, if we are to believe EXPRESS (FRG), 71 percent of GDR inhabitants reject the idea of "reunification."

Understandably, the German question is not solely and exclusively a German question. Either pro forma or in essence. Pro forma because the four occupying powers retain their juridical responsibility for the future of the former Reich. In essence because stability in the center of Europe is the condition and the prerequisite for stability on the continent.

In principle, all the FRG's main allies theoretically support the idea of "reunification." But at the level of practical policy they prefer not to remember principles. "For many different and weighty reasons," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, for instance, "neither European, American, Russian, nor German leaders themselves are prepared for the emergence of a united Germany." NEWSWEEK recently recalled Francois Mauriac's words: "I love Germany so much that I hope there will always be two of them."

For understandable reasons, the U.S. stance is being studied with particular zeal. The president is expressing himself very cautiously. Here is an excerpt from an interview which G. Bush gave to the Mutual Broadcasting System radio company.

"Question: Let us return to East Europe: Do you consider the reunification of the two German states to be inevitable?

"Answer: I have set out my viewpoint on this question and I have said that the peoples of the two German states must resolve this question. This is an extremely complex question in connection with the Soviet Union's interest in it, and it is best to confine ourselves to this in response."

The persistent correspondent did not give up on the president.

"Question: But, assessing the changes taking place there, do you consider this step inevitable?

"Answer: This is all very hypothetical since there are a host of factors that may interfere with the situation, and I believe that the German people must resolve this question."

The secretary of state is even more cautious. He insists on "not provoking instability" and on ensuring that "we show that we are not striving to derive unilateral advantages from these events."

The slight ambiguity is confusing. It is one thing not to derive these actual advantages but it is something else to show that you are not deriving them. However, such ambiguity is part of the rules of the game.

In a recent article former French prime minister Jacques Chirac put forward this idea. The preservation of the status quo in Europe was previously payment for the preservation of peace. Now it is a question of preserving peace under conditions of a changing status quo. The latter task is much more complex than the former. It requires constant monitoring of the development of events and the ability to control the changes. The main protagonists in European and world policy do realize this—but to differing degrees.

The impending meeting off Malta, in particular, is precisely intended to outline the mutually acceptable boundaries of deliberate interference (or noninterference) in the course of events.

This was also mentioned at an extraordinary meeting of EEC leaders in Paris. But there was also the specific condition—that Malta should not be allowed to become a new Yalta, that is, a Soviet-U.S. "deal" at the expense of Europe's interests. Although such a danger is hardly realistic...

In Moscow, as far as I can judge, people are proceeding on the premise that under current conditions the preservation of two German states is an important condition of European stability and the further deepening of detente. No one is questioning the right to self-determination. At the same time the exercise of that right should not be detrimental to the rights and interests of Europe's other peoples, increase tension, or reduce the level of all-European security.

... I was given an hour for a meeting with FRG President R. von Weizsaecker. Of this hour the president spent approximately 59 minutes asking me about the problems, successes, and failures of perestroyka, displaying an enviable knowledge of our affairs. This was no formal, official interest but a keen, human interest.

I encountered this kind of interest and sincere desire to understand what is happening in our country not only in Bonn's "White House" but also in a great variety of West German homes. It is no idle interest. If Germans cannot conceive of their future outside the European context, that context is inconceivable without the Soviet Union. Hence the virtually nationwide consensus regarding the "Ostpolitik." The mentality of confrontation is giving way to the mentality of mutually beneficial cooperation. The German question—in any interpretation—has no answer without such cooperation.

Silayev Holds Discussion With Kohl in Bonn

LD2911220889 Moscow TASS in English 2127 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn November 30 TASS—Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visiting here, met Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany on Wednesday [29 November].

They discussed the course of the realisation of the accords reached during the summit visits by Helmut Kohl to the Soviet Union and by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Federal Republic and ways for further expansion of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Having pointed out the great importance of the Soviet-West German dialogue at summit level, the Chancellor emphasised the FRG's interest in the further development and deepening of bilateral cooperation in all fields.

Kohl believes that this cooperation should promote the success of transformations which are being effected in the Soviet Union and which meet the interests of all European countries, including the FRG.

From this point of view, the development of contacts between the Soviet Union and the European Community should play an important role.

At the forthcoming EEC summit in Strasbourg, Kohl intends to urge the FRG's Common Market partners to give greater scope to cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Silayev informed the Chancellor of the course of implementation of joint projects in various spheres, specifically in car manufacture, the training and advanced training of specialists, transport, and environmental protection.

Genscher To Pay Visit to Soviet Union 4-5 Dec

LD2911122989 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal deputy chancellor and federal foreign minister of the FRG, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union from December 4 to 5 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Petrovskiy Addresses 'Prominent' French Figures

LD2911125289 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Paris November 29 TASS—By TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Vladimir Shvets:

What is the meaning of new political thinking in the USSR? What does it signify to Europe? This subject, as the events in socialist countries in general, has attracted many people to a meeting called by the new "Know the New Soviet Union" public association. It took place at Luxembourg Palace where the French Senate usually meets.

The meeting was attended by many prominent political leaders and public figures. It was addressed by visiting Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

"New political thinking," he stressed, "is in many ways linked with the European idea. However, two centuries were needed before the idea of unity, solidarity and harmonisation became the basis of new thinking addressed not only to Europe, but all the world. In turn, new political thinking enriches the European idea, helps to find answers to cardinal problems disturbing our continent.

"New thinking in foreign policy has given rise to the "Common European Home" concept. However, the building of this home," Petrovskiy stressed, "does not require the destruction of the existing edifice. It can be constructed and based only on the firm foundation of existing territorial and political realities ensuring Europe's security and stability. [quotation marks as received]

"The European dialogue and cooperation reaches out into Asia via the Soviet Union which is a Eurasian country. Europe does not end at the Urals on our side of the border. Elements of the all-European process—security, humanism and cooperation—are valid on Soviet territory beyond the Urals too. The building of a 'European home' definitely exerts a favourable influence on the world's development.

"The Soviet Union is demonstrating by practical deeds its adherence to the idea of a 'European home'. Our current European policy reflects the developments in our country. As is the case with the European Community, perestroyka opens up possibilities for a qualitatively new community of democratic Russia and other genuinely equal Soviet republics.

"Speaking about the European dialogue, it is pertinent to stress the importance of this process for Soviet-French relations. President Gorbachev's forthcoming meeting with Francois Mitterrand is bound to be a prominent landmark in the current state of summit meetings."

Petrovskiy was asked many questions. They demonstrated the French public's interest in the current processes in the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

"Our association has been set up by representatives of French public circles who realise the importance of changes in your country," Leo Hamon, president of the association and political and public leader, told TASS.

"Its leadership includes representatives of all the principal political forces," he noted. "We wish to stress that our organisation does not serve the interests of any party. It was set up to promote Soviet-French dialogue."

"There will be another meeting with the USSR deputy foreign minister, held on our initiative. It will be devoted to problems of disarmament and all-European security. We plan to familiarise the public with the work of the new Soviet Parliament and to arrange other functions. The French people must know about renovation processes in the USSR. This process deserves their support and appreciation."

Speech at French Military Academy

LD3011094189 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Paris November 30 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky addressed prominent French political, public and military figures who gathered at France's military academy to discuss disarmament and European security.

The meeting was sponsored by a French public association "Know a New Soviet Union".

"We must team our efforts to ensure the efficient functioning of a system of peace, security and cooperation based on the United Nations Charter," Petrovsky said.

"The realities of the post-war political and territorial order are a guarantee of stability in Europe," he said.

Speaking about renewal in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Soviet diplomat said that they have a common perspective and promote the creation of a common European home.

Because the Soviet Union is a Euro-Asian power, its perestroyka serves to stabilise the European and world situations. The Soviet Union aims to promote positive interaction with Asian nations, he said.

Developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe confirm that socialism is living. As it improves, it offers the hope of solving many global problems. The Soviet Union does not support interfernce in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Other states should follow its example and stop trying to speculate on emerging difficulties. Attempts to spur developments are also inadmissible.

Commenting on the future of European disarmament, Petrovsky said that the Vienna talks prompt the daring forecast of an agreement in 1990.

"The current stage of talks between 35 nations can, we believe, lead to the development of a new generation of confidence-building measures covering all aspects of military activity," he said.

However, the question of security and strategic stability in Europe remains open. Major differences remain. The question of the role of nuclear weapons in European security is one of the toughest.

The list of such discrepancies could be continued, but I shall cite just the main one, perhaps: the Mediterranean's serious general lag behind the positive changes on the European continent.

Will it be possible now, having, specifically, the additional reference points of the summary document of the Vienna meeting, to get things moving? There is no simple answer to this as yet. After all, just a few years ago no full-fledged dialogue would result, as a rule, when Mediterreanan problems were broached in this context or the other.

This state of affairs was not fortuitous. Part of the responsibility for it was evidently borne by our country also. A bipolar vision of the world was, as is known, for many years predominant in the Soviet leadership. The situation in the Mediterranean was usually seen solely through the prism of rivalry with NATO and with the United States. There was a logic to this approach, of course, but it was dominant, and this by no means contributed to a lowering of the level of confrontation in the region. We frequently wasted energy and time in tackling not the most urgent or realistic tasks, while suspicions concerning the motives of the USSR, to which was ascribed an endeavor to secure for itself domination in the Mediterranean, having supplanted the Americans there, multiplied in parallel.

And as a whole, if we recall many international conferences and public forums devoted to the region's problems, a big discrepancy was revealed between the decisions which were adopted and specific action. On the one hand important and in principle very correct goals providing, for example, for the Mediterranean's conversion into a "sea of peace and friendly cooperation" were proclaimed. On the other, however, little was done to ensure by collective efforts actual progress toward the creation of an infrastructure of interaction necessary for the solution of central problems.

More auspicious conditions are taking shape today for the constructive dialogue of various states in the Mediterranean under the impact of the changes in the world, particularly in Europe. And we would hardly need to come up with anything special were the business of the linkage of the all-European process and an improvement in the situation in this region to be put on a practical footing. It is necessary, finally, to implement the guidelines which have been adopted earlier by all participants in the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], but which have, in the main, remained on paper.

Much, of course, will depend on the Soviet Union, which is now endeavoring to outline its profile in the Mediterranean more distinctly and to bring it fully into line with the new political thinking and the tasks which are determined by the USSR's objective interests in the region.

This policy, incidentally, is not confined merely to the all- European process. Our country has outside of it put forward many initiatives pertaining to the Mediterranean or directly related to it. Thus it is proposed freezing the numbers of warships of the USSR and the United States in the Mediterranean and establishing limits for them, withdrawing from the region Soviet and American ships carrying nuclear weapons, eliminating by the year 2000 globally the foreign military presence and military bases on others' territory and also taking a number of other steps aimed at strengthening security and expanding cooperation.

These initiatives are very important. It is clear, however, that realizing them will not be easy inasmuch as the position of the United States and other NATO countries remains negative as yet. Considerable efforts will be required for a breakthrough in this field, primarily for the creation of a climate of cooperation in exchange for the atmosphere of confrontation. Here, in my view, an appreciable role could be performed by what we call small steps—specific improvements in such spheres as ecology, tourism, transport and cultural relations.

The conference on the Mediterranean envisaged by the summary document of the Vienna meeting, which will be held next year in Palma de Majorca, will be highly pertinent in this respect. It will enable the CSCE states to examine ways and means of the development of multilateral cooperation, including the protection and improvement of the Mediterranean's ecosystem, which could help extend the framework of their interaction with Mediterranean states not participating in the all-European process and contribute to confidence-building in the region.

This conference will, obviously, be effective only given thorough preparations for it. Soviet specialists are ready to joint in such preparations also. An important part could be played, specifically, by the Mediterranean Research Center recently created in our country.

It is time to improve the situation in this neuralgic zone. The qualitatively new situation in various fields of international relations which has taken shape currently affords real opportunities for the extension to the Mediterranean of the positive processes which are blazing a trail for themselves on the European continent.

EEC Experience Seen As 'Useful' for CEMA

PM2911155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Vladimir Peresada "Viewpoint" article: "Step by Step"]

[Text] A session of the EC Council of Ministers has been held in Brussels at the economic and finance minister level. This would seem to be a routine fact, since such meetings are held regularly. However, this meeting, bearing in mind its agenda, had a substantive feature. The outcome of the session would largely determine whether the EC would take the first step toward instituting a currency and financial union—one of the pillars of the single internal market which it is planned to set up by 1993.

The results of the session were that the ministers decided to hold consultations twice a year in order to coordinate the financial and economic policy of the 12 EC members. Correspondingly, these countries' governments are obliged to follow the recommendations that were worked out. The green light is thereby given to stage one of the "Delors Plan," named for its initiator—the head of the commission (the EC's executive organ). This plan, which it is planned to implement as of the middle of next year, envisages initially the stepping up of currency cooperation among the 12 states and, in the next two stages, the creation of a single central bank and a common currency for the entire community.

Thus, the Brussels meeting was a move toward the resolution of one of the most complex questions of West European economic integration—a question which has produced sharp discussions in the EC. Admittedly, for the time being we can only talk about the start of the process, nothing more. According to reports from Brussels, the ministers were unable to smooth over their differences as regards the further stages of the "Delors Plan," and the outlines of any future union remain vague. The idea of a "Eurobank" and a "Eurocurrency" are resolutely opposed by Britain, which believes that it would weaken the right of each individual state to formulate its own financial policy. Nor was there any consensus at the session on the question of holding an intergovernmental conference intended to supplement existing treaties with amendments expanding the financial powers of leading EC organs. Judging by everything, these problems will be discussed again at a higher level—during the next meeting of "Common Market" heads of state and government planned for December.

But here is what I would like to note. Even on such a difficult question as the creation of a currency alliance, in which such a delicate aspect of integration as the redistribution of sovereignty can be seen particularly clearly alongside purely economic problems, the EC countries are demonstrating an enviable desire to seek compromise. Of course, the EC experience is not positive on everything. And yet, for some time now, and particularly of late, people in the EC have been trying to ensure an internal balance of interests and find flexible solutions that make it possible to gradually but consistently develop the integration process.

I mention this for the following reason. The EC's rich experience has in many respects been highly useful for the CEMA too, where the course has been set of switching interested states to a united socialist market in the long term, and directly for our country which, in particular, is renewing the economic principles of the Soviet federation. And the main thing, in my view, which we could learn from the West Europeans is the ability to patiently resolve the contradictions between the "local" and the "general" in the EC, gradually moving together toward the set goal.

Finnish Parliamentarians Visit Supreme Soviet

LD1611224289 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—A delegation from the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Finnish parliament headed by its chairman Markus Aaltonen had a talk in the USSR Supreme Soviet on Thursday.

The Finnish parliamentarians were informed of the radical transformations in the Soviet Union aimed at a comprehensive renewal of society.

They were also told of the work of the revamped Soviet parliament. Its law-making activity, the guests were told, aims to vest all power in the Soviets at all levels and make economic development plans serve the purpose of upgrading the Soviet people's living standards.

Ways to deepen inter-parliamentary contacts were also discussed.

Later in the day, the delegation had talks in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union. The state and further development of trade relations between the two countries came under discussion.

The delegation members laid down wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Primakov, Adamishin Meet Delegation

PM2311140989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visitors to Capital"]

[Text] Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, met on 17 November with a delegation from the Finnish parliament's Foreign Policy Committee headed by its Chairman M. Aaltonen.

The guests were told about the preparations for the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and about the work of the session of the country's supreme legislative organ. It was noted that it had graphically demonstrated the new Soviet parliament's innovative approaches to the solution of topical socioeconomic questions. The discussion took place in a democratic atmosphere. It was stressed that the entire lawmaking process is geared to observance of the republics' sovereignty, strengthening of the overall national economic complex, and elimination of the distortions of the past.

The discussion paid a great deal of attention to the development of contacts on an interparliamentary basis, in the context of the further activation of bilateral relations, and also within the framework of the Nordic

Council. It was stressed that M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to Finland provided the impetus for this cooperation.

At the guests' request, Ye.M. Primakov talked about the results of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's recent trip to the United States.

On the same day, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin met with the delegation.

The delegation left Moscow that evening. It had been on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs.

PRAVDA Reports on Nordic Council Session

PM2011142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov: "Positive Response; At Nordic Council Extraordinary Session"]

[Text] There is unusual animation these days in Mariehamn—the only city on the Aland Islands and capital of the province of the same name in southwest Finland. It is indeed a capital. After all, the archipelago, demilitarized under international agreements in the last century, enjoys very broad autonomy. It even has its own parliament (landsting). Mainly Swedes live here and, in contrast to the rest of Finland, the names of the streets, signs, and announcements are in just one language.

Why has Mariehamn suddenly been literally deluged with guests—including those of high political rank—from Helsinki, Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen, and Reykjavik (in particular the prime ministers of all Nordic countries have come here) and dozens of foreign journalists? An extraordinary session of the Nordic Council—the consultative organization of states and parliaments of the region—is being held here. Formally, the session has met to discuss the working program for its council of ministers for 1989-1992. Its main topic is problems connected with the development of European integration.

It is well known that the Nordic countries have different approaches toward these problems. Denmark is an EEC member and is taking an active part in the processes of economic and even political European integration. At the same time, neutral Sweden and Finland treat it with more restraint, believing evidently that it is inevitable that states will come to resemble each other economically but that here both their sovereignty and their established foreign policy course should be respected. Some also are speaking of the possibility of integration on the scale of the entire continent, not restricted to the framework of the EEC.

People here rightly include among such opportunities those now being created thanks to the new initiatives of the USSR leadership. The proposals recently heard in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Helsinki's "Finlandia" palace were welcomed with great attention by the North European countries. In Finland, the reaction was immediate and positive. E. Hetemaki-Olander, chairman of the Finnish delegation at the Nordic Council session, immediately distributed the text of M.S. Gorbachev's speech to all members of the Nordic Council presidium from other countries. M. Louekoski, minister of Nordic cooperation, said that M.S. Gorbachev's speech opens up absolutely new political yardsticks with regard to the Nordic Council.

DAGENS NYHETER, a very important Scandinavian newspaper, noted on the eve of the session: "A swift and well inclined reply should follow President Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for closer cooperation between the USSR and the Nordic Council." Of course, the Swedish newspaper writes, this reply will be elaborated in conjunction with the parliamentarians of the Nordic countries and their prime ministers in connection with the extraordinary session in Mariehamn. The Swedish delegation, the newspaper reported, has already discussed the question and reached the conclusion that Gorbachev's proposals open up "new and tempting prospects." DAGENS NYHETER stressed in this connection that the questions touched on by M.S. Gorbachev include those (for instance those which relate to problems of disarmament and the strengthening of security) which are in need of in-depth and comprehensive analysis. This, the newspaper noted, is also the opinion of Karin Soder, chairman of the Swedish delegation, who is also now president of the Nordic Council.

On arrival in the Aland Islands, K. Soder told journalists that M.S. Gorbachev's proposals will be carefully studied and that in general "we must follow attentively the development of events in the Soviet Union, taking them into account in our activity."

And now, opening the session, K. Soder announced that the Nordic Council presidium session had decided to welcome the "new openness" of the East European countries and their interest in cooperation and contacts between the parliamentary organs now in existence and to send a Nordic Council representative to Moscow to discuss possible forms of contacts between the parliamentarians of the Nordic Council and the Soviet Union in fields which most open up an opportunity for the development of close cooperation.

The presidium also suggested that the parliaments of the Nordic states jointly appoint a delegation to establish ties with the USSR Supreme Soviet and to intensify contacts with East Europe, especially in Nordic regions close to each other.

Questions relating to the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev were touched on at the session by virtually all speakers and became virtually one of the central topics of discussion during the extraordinary session of the Nordic Council in Mariehamn.

In particular, former Prime Minister A. Jorgensen, leader of the Danish delegation, actively advocated more resolute responsive steps by the Nordic Council on the path to cooperation with its Soviet counterparts. But the presidium, consisting of 10 members, 2 from each country, obviously decided to act more cautiously. As one Stockholm newspaper noted, it is necessary first "to ascertain what the meaning of the deepening of contacts with the Nordic Council mentioned by Gorbachev, first through the USSR Supreme Soviet and then by the parliaments of the Baltic countries, will be."

In disputing this approach one of the Finnish representatives at the session, Social Democratic Party Deputy M. Nyby, stated in this connection: "We should accept the proffered hand.... Otherwise, we may lag behind the processes taking place in the East European countries."

As a whole, the reply from the Nordic Council presidium to the Soviet initiatives, although, as people are saying here, it was not as broad as it could have been, is nonetheless seen by the majority of those taking part in the session as a positive step toward developing good-neighborly cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Nordic Council Discusses Gorbachev Proposals

PM2411123389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Shmyganovskiy dispatch: "Finland: Signal Heard"]

[Text] Mariehamn—Prime ministers and parliamentary deputies from the five countries of the Nordic Council—a consultative body comprising Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland, and Sweden—met in the main city of the Aland Islands—Mariehamn—for an extraordinary session of this organization, the third in its almost 40-year existence.

The attitude to European integration was the main item on the agenda. The states in the territorially vast North European region, of whom only Denmark is a member of the European Community, are concerned at the speed of the "European express," as people here figuratively describe the "Common Market" plans. Under the influence of these plans, the Nordic countries also intend to speed up integration processes in their region. They advocated implementing free movement of capital as of this year and the creation of a truly free market in a few years. It is planned to strengthen the role of the European Free Trade Association, which comprises Austria, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Switzerland, and Sweden.

The extraordinary session's recommendations in the sphere of environmental conservation are important. The five countries' governments agreed to expand cooperation with socialist states in this sphere and allocate more than 340 million Danish kroner for nature protection measures and the development of corresponding technologies to protect the Baltic from pollution. A final decision is to be ratified at the next session of the Nordic Council early next year in Reykjavik.

You sometimes got the impression that the prime ministers and delegation members who spoke in Mariehamn met to discuss the problems of developing comprehensive ties with CEMA countries rather than questions of West European integration. The debates in the Alands centered first on M.S. Gorbachev's Finland House appeal to the Nordic Council proposing the establishment of contacts. Despite the diverse approaches, the discussion revealed a largely positive attitude to the Soviet leader's statement. A. Talleraas, chairman of the Commission on Economic Problems, said that the changes taking place in East Europe can no longer be discounted. It is time to break down the walls dividing us. C. Bildt, leader of the Swedish conservatives, voiced approximately the same view.

Finland's former minister of culture, G. Bjorkstrand, proposed setting up a special body within the council to deal with East-West cooperation.

Commenting on M.S. Gorbachev's speech, C. Andersson, a deputy in the Finnish Parliament, said that the concept "north" must be extended to the east, in particular, to the Soviet Union. On the whole, the USSR's new initiatives met with a well-disposed response. Norwegian Prime Minister J. Syse, on the other hand, was more cautious, doing his utmost to emphasize that the Nordic Council must focus its attention on relations with the West. He went up to the rostrum more frequently than the other heads of state—three times—to respond to comments made by deputies from other countries. They criticized the Nordic Council for its reluctance to change any of its activity and submit foreign policy questions for discussion.

The Nordic Council does not adopt hasty decisions or—to be more precise—recommendations. You must not be surprised if the Soviet leader's new initiatives are discussed in a leisurely fashion.

Sitaryan Talks With Austrian Economic Official

PM2311142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Businesslike Atmosphere"]

[Text] S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, on 20 November received R. Sallinger, president of Austria's Federal Economic Chamber.

During the conversation, held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere, the further development of trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and Austria was discussed.

Laverov Received by Austrian Chancellor 21 Nov

LD2211001589 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 21 TASS—Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitsky of Austria today received Nikolay Laverov, USSR deputy prime minister and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, who is attending the current general conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) here.

The chancellor showed a lively interest in the current stage of perestroika in the Soviet Union. The two men expressed satisfaction with the state of Soviet-Austrian relations and called for all-round development of these relations.

Having pointed out the importance of positive trends that have begun to develop in the world, they emphasised the need to further broaden contacts between countries with different social systems.

Nikitin Signs Agreement During Austria Visit

LD1311211489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0951 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna, 13 Nov (TASS)—Guided by the desire to develop bilateral relations, the Soviet Union and Austria are intent upon expanding cooperation in the agricultural sphere. This is envisaged in an agreement signed during an official visit, ended on Sunday, to the Austrian Republic by a Soviet delegation led by V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The document stresses that both sides will assist in every way the development of interaction in the sphere of agrarian research. It is planned to conduct joint scientific projects, organize coproduction, and set up joint enterprises. The main areas of cooperation will be horticulture, plant growing, viticulture, livestock breeding, biotechnology, mechanization and automation of agricultural production, and conservation of natural resources and soils

During the agreement-signing ceremony, F. Fischler, Austrian minister of Agriculture and forestry, expressed his confidence that economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR will continue to development.

A conversation took place between V.V. Nikitin and Austrian Vice Chancellor J. Riegler, during which questions of mutual interest were discussed.

V.V. Nikitin met with the leadership of the Austrian Communist Party, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The Soviet guest held a conversation with representatives of business circles in the Austrian republic, and briefed them on the main directions of economic reform in the USSR. The heads of over 60 Austrian firms showed a great interest in perestroyka, and advocated deepening contacts with Soviet partners and developing new forms of coproduction. V.V. Nikitin visited a series of industrial enterprise, many of which cooperate with the USSR, and also visited several agricultural cooperatives.

G.S. Shikin, USSR ambassador in Austria, took, part in the meetings.

General Yazov Returns From Austria 23 Nov

PM2711152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov returned to Moscow 23 November.

He was greeted at the airport by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other officials.

The welcoming party included H. Grubmayer, Austrian ambassador to the USSR.

Latin America & Caribbean

El Salvador-Nicaragua Break in Ties Viewed

PM2811102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Survey by M. Kozhukhov: "El Salvador-Nicaragua: War of Words; Salvadoran President A. Cristiani Has Broken Off Diplomatic Relations With Nicaragua"]

[Text] The news agencies report that a two-engine Cessna aircraft crashed on Saturday approximately 100 km east of the Salvadoran capital. According to the government story, weapons of Soviet production were discovered on board, including rockets for fighting airborne targets and antitank shells.

Three of the Cessna crew members died in the crash and a fourth, to all appearances, committed suicide to avoid being captured. Representatives of the Salvadoran Army stated that among the aircraft wreckage a flight chart was discovered attesting that the aircraft with its military freight was en route from Managua to one of the country's regions under the partial control of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

Displaying on television the weapons found among the aircraft wreckage, Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani announced the breaking off of all relations with Nicaragua, accusing that country and Cuba of fueling the Salvadoran conflict. Agencies note that the recall of the Salvadoran diplomatic mission from Managua essentially merely reinforces officially the situation that took shape after Nicaragua recalled the personnel of its San Salvador embassy for security reasons.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, meanwhile, addressing a meeting close to the Honduran border, expressed "satisfaction" with the breaking off of diplomatic relations with El Salvador and called for a boycott on that country until the murderers of the six Jesuit priests who died a few days ago are punished. In D. Ortega's opinion, the breaking off of diplomatic relations means that "we are on the side of the Salvadoran people, justice, peace, and democracy, and not on the side of tyranny." Reporting this, the international agencies draw attention to the fact that Ortega did not deny accusations that Nicaragua is supplying weapons to the Salvadoran insurgents.

A REUTER correspondent reports that a large consignment of weapons and ammunition has also been discovered in San Salvador during a search of the house of a young American woman, Jennifer Kasolo [surname as transliterated], who has lived in that country for several years, organizing visits to El Salvador for U.S. religious organizations. In the opinion of the police, the weapons discovered in her house were also intended for the insurgents, although Kasolo refused to answer journalists' questions at a press conference.

It is reported from San Salvador that after several days of relative calm, fighting has resumed in the environs of the capital between detachments of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the government army. The conflict in that country, which has already taken the lives of nearly 2,000 people in just the past 2 weeks, is to all appearances still fraught with the danger of new eruptions.

Salvadoran Ulterior Motives Seen

PY3011133889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0330 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Aleksey Pavlov commentary]

[Text] Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani announced last Sunday that the Republic of El Salvador has broken diplomatic ties with Nicaragua. Analyst Aleksey Pavlov discusses this subject:

For those who are familiar with Central American issues, this news is no surprise. Given the failure of the negotiations between the Salvadoran Government and the guerrillas as well as the resumption of the war, the Cristiani administration was pressured by certain U.S. circles to break relations with Nicaragua.

The [word indistinct] (?media) are conducting a crusade to convince the public that Cuba, Nicaragua, and certainly the USSR, are providing weapons to the [word indistinct] revolutionaries. The United States certainly plays an important role in this campaign, and so has President Cristiani by declaring that he will not attend the regional presidential summit scheduled for December in Managua.

Apparently, Cristiani needed to break relations with Nicaragua in order not to attend to the summit. This is comprehensible because the Central American presidents are supposed to discuss the compliance with the Tela agreements, the dismantling of the Contras, and the continuation of peace talks in El Salvador. In fact, Cristiani was unable to justify his refusal to attend this summit.

There are other reasons why Cristiani wishes to use the break with Nicaragua as a mask. He is trying to distract public attention from the Salvadoran Army's heavy bombings of heavily populated areas, including the capital, and the repression against Salvadoran religious and labor organizations.

In other terms, Cristiani wants to conceal the fact that he cannot control the excesses committed by his generals—that is, the genocide the Salvadoran Army is perpetrating against its own people. The Cristiani administration is also unable to control the death squads, which are murdering people with impunity.

It is revealing that several days before Cristiani declared the break in diplomatic ties with Nicaragua, Nicaraguan Embassy staff in San Salvador were evacuated home in the face of death threats by the death squads. Is this mere coincidence? Of course not. Most probably these death squads received orders to make such threats with a view toward the diplomatic break.

By what can be seen, the action of death squads is common practice for the Salvadoran Government. However, this diplomatic break is a serious act for which Cristiani is largely responsible. Honduran President Jose Azcona Hoyo considers this action a great danger to peace in the isthmus. This is an unquestionable fact.

USSR Denies Sending Arms to Nicaragua, FMLN

PY2911154289 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[By Leonid Levchenko]

[Text] The situation in Central America has worsened in November. At least, that is what most people believe. Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani's unexpected decision to sever diplomatic and other relations with Nicaragua has further exacerbated the situation.

The key elements in any solution to the regional conflict are the disbanding of the armed opposition in Nicaragua and the attainment of peace in El Salvador. In both cases things have not been proceeding along the lines drawn up by the Central American presidents in Tela, Honduras this past August. The Nicaraguan opposition has refused to fulfill the agreement to disband. And in El Salvador the Cristiani administration has refused to resume talks with the rebels.

Moscow is being blamed for this worsening of relations between Nicaragua and El Salvador, allegedly because it has sent weapons to Central American rebels in general and to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] in particular. We would like to mention once again the statements from the USSR Foreign Ministry and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to the effect that, in keeping with an agreement reached with Nicaragua, the Soviet Union has ceased selling arms to that country. This moratorium will be in effect through the first quarter of next year.

The USSR Foreign Ministry has repeatedly stated that arms have never been sent to the FMLN nor to any other Central American rebel force. This position was reaffirmed yesterday during a briefing by USSR Foreign Ministry officials, who stated that the Soviet Union fully supports the Central American peace accords and the termination of all assistance to rebel and paramilitary groups. Moscow hopes that other countries not directly involved in the Central American conflict will abide strictly by the guidelines set forth in the agreements reached by the presidents of the region's five countries.

In these terms, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's report that the United States has failed to comply with the 1986 ruling by The Hague International Court on the termination of military assistance to the Nicaraguan opposition is very important.

Foreign Ministry Makes Statement on El Salvador

PM2811111789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Statement by USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] The development of the situation in and around El Salvador is bound to cause profound concern. It is also having an adverse effect on the political settlement process in the Central American region as a whole.

The only effective way out of this situation in the short term is an immediate cease-fire, the establishment of a truce, and the resumption of dialogue between the government and the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] leadership. This has been advocated in recent days by the governments of a whole range of European and Latin American countries and also by the UN secretary general, the Nonaligned Movement, the EC, the OAS [Organization of American States], and the states of the Contadora Group, the Contadora Support Group, and others. An exchange of opinions is taking place within the framework of the UN Security Council.

The Soviet Union not only resolutely supports these efforts, but is taking enterprising steps in favor of relaxing tension and arranging a political process.

The FMLN leadership, as is known, appealed to the government to announce an immediate cease-fire under UN supervision. Despite the positive international reception, the proposal was turned down flat by President A. Cristiani. Government ultimatums to the rebels and attempts to secure unilateral concessions as a preliminary condition for the resumption of talks are unlikely to bear fruit. The impression is that neither the government nor certain forces outside El Salvador are displaying a sincere commitment to an immediate political solution to the impasse, but are continuing to bank mainly on military force.

It is our profound belief that this is not the way to solve El Salvador's problems. We express the hope that the country's government will nonetheless display common sense and concern for its own population and immediately take the path of serious talks aimed at finding a just solution as soon as possible, and that those who are able to influence it in this sphere will do so.

U.S. Urged To Promote 'Dialogue' in El Salvador

PM3011102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Pavel Bogomolov "Viewpoint": "The El Salvador Problem"]

[Excerpts] The latest outbreak of armed opposition in El Salvador has seriously clouded the political sky over Latin America and the entire Western hemisphere. [passage omitted]

As is well known, our country has advocated and continues to advocate a universal political settlement of regional conflicts regardless of the part of the world in which they occur. And this, by the way, is not just wishful thinking. The Soviet position also reflects the essence of practical experience accumulated in previous years of our diplomacy—the experience of a patient, compromise attitude that respects the opinion of all interested parties. Moscow's attitude to the peace agreement among the five Central American states' presidents and the recent statement made by a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman on the Salvadoran problem are well known, incidentally.

At the same time, it is extremely difficult to detect even the slightest positive development in the White House stance on El Salvador. Washington's very reaction to the recent attack by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front rebels was depressing. It was during those very days that the A. Cristiani regime received assurances from the Potomac that the American assistance it was receiving, particularly military assistance, would continue to flow generously. Does this not serve as a kind of immoral stimulus to the Salvadoran militarists, who are increasing the scale of their punitive actions when the opposing side has already announced its readiness to look for ways to end the combat actions?

And surely the emergency deployment of a Pentagon naval armada off the El Salvador coast does not promote the restoration of peace. In addition, in El Salvador itself the "elite" formations are continuing to be trained by American servicemen. Admittedly, the U.S. Defense Department was giving assurances until recently that it was not participating directly in the operations. But now reports of a different kind have appeared, for instance, the operation carried out recently by a Pentagon special subunit, which freed another group of American servicemen from San Salvador's "Sheraton" Hotel, which was occupied by the rebels.

It is to be regretted that all this "gunboat diplomacy" is being carried out ostensibly to counteract "Soviet interference," as some mass media sources are affirming. The false story about deliveries of weapons from the USSR to the Salvadoran rebels is again being dragged into circulation. In actual fact they have never, under any circumstances, received even a single cartridge from the USSR! We would hope that the officials in Washington are sufficiently well aware of this.

The flow of standard, unsubstantiated accusations clearly does not promote an end to the bloodshed or a speedy removal of its causes. It would be much more effective in the long term to call on the Salvadoran regime not to intensify repression but to objectively recognize the alignment of forces in the country and hold serious and responsible dialogue with the rebels. Finally, it is time to allow a multiplicity of paths of development in Central America and complete freedom in choosing them. This requires a reassessment of existing interpretations of the very essence of the "sphere of strategic interests" formula from the people who formulate U.S. foreign policy. But what can you do if the entire contemporary world is changing so rapidly! In all probability it is time to change the outdated ideas about "spheres of influence."

Castro Receives USSR Defense Industry Minister

LD2111141789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0813 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Havana, 21 Nov (TASS)—Cuban leader Fidel Castro has received B.M. Belousov, USSR minister of defense industry, who is in Cuba on a working visit.

During the meeting, which passed off in a cordial friendly atmosphere, according to the GRANMA newspaper, there was an exchange of views on questions of mutual interest to both countries, including the manufacture of agricultural equipment and everyday electrical appliances in the production of which the USSR Ministry of Defense Industry is currently involved.

Taking part in the meeting were Army General Raul Castro, minister of the revolutionary armed forces; General Corpusa Abelardo Colome Ibarra, minister of the interior; other Cuban leaders; and also Yu.V. Petrov, the USSR ambassador in Cuba.

Argentine Official Kohen Visits 14-20 Nov

Received by Deputy Foreign Minister

PM2111134789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 15 November USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov met with Alberto Kohen, secretary general of the chancellery of the Argentinian president, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Latin American Peoples at the head of a delegation of the ruling Justicialist Party of Argentina.

Visit Summarized

PM2311102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Message Handed Over"]

[Text] A delegation from Argentina's ruling Justicialist Party headed by Alberto Kohen, general secretary of the office of the country's president, was in the USSR 14-20 November at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Latin America.

The guests had a talk at the USSR Supreme Soviet, at which a message was handed over from Argentine President Carlos Menem to M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and talks in the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic foreign ministries, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Latin America Institute. The delegation made a trip to Leningrad.

Lukyanov Receives Argentine Envoy's Credentials

LD1811103989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Nov (TASS)—Gaston de Prat Gay, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Argentina, presented his credentials in the Kremlin today to Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

I want again to stress the determination of the Argentine side to strengthen the ties between our states, the ambassador stated. He noted the importance of dialogue and the uniting of the efforts of the peoples in approaching topical international problems and spoke in favor of enhancing the role of the United Nations as a mechanism stimulating the search for solutions to the most acute issues.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Lukyanov stressed that the new political thinking formed by perestroyka has enabled major positive breakthroughs in world politics. The world has become more predictable, and opportunities have appeared for finding solutions to regional conflicts and for resolving the global problems facing mankind.

It was noted that the Soviet Union values highly Argentina's constructive policy in the international arena and its active participation in UN activity and in the Nonaligned Movement and the "Group of Six". Our countries have much in common in our approaches to issues of disarmament and the nonmilitarization of space, stopping nuclear tests, banning chemical weapons, settling regional conflicts, and establishing a just international economic order.

Both sides expressed a desire for a further deepening of ties and development of fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Argentina.

After the presentation of the credentials, a friendly conversation took place between Anatoliy Lukyanov and Gaston de Prat Gay.

Soviet-Jamaican Exchange Program Signed

PM2711155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A program for USSR-Jamaican cultural and scientific exchanges through 1991 was signed in Moscow 23 November.

The program was signed by V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and B. Clare, Jamaican state minister of foreign affairs and foreign trade.

Lukyanov Receives Jamaican Envoy's Credentials

PM2311152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] On 20 November A.H. Thompson, Jamaican ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the Kremlin.

The Jamaican Government, the ambassador stated, attaches great importance to maintaining and developing relations with the Soviet Union that are friendly and mutually beneficial in character. He noted the importance of cooperation between the two countries in the struggle for peace and disarmament and the solution of other topical international problems.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov stressed that in its approach to Jamaica, as to any other country, the Soviet Union is invariably guided by the desire to develop constructive relations based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and a balance of interests, be it in the realm of political, economic, cultural, or other ties and contacts. The USSR is ready to cooperate with Jamaica in the foreign policy sphere, too, and is mindful of the fact that the two countries' approaches to many global and regional problems are close or coincide.

The presentation of the credentials was followed by a friendly conversation between A.I. Lukyanov and A.H. Thompson.

Reportage on Chilean Communist Party Plenum

Plenum Report Supports CPPD

PY2211040989 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The report from the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] says that 11 March should be a day for the greatest national mass demonstration, since it will be the time when the CPPD [Coalition of Parties for Democracy] program will begin to be implemented. This PCCh concept was expressed in the 5th plenum of the Central Committee held after the 15th congress. The committee held that each sector of society whose needs and aspirations are reflected in that program should try to fully understand it and to carry it further. The order of the day, according to the report, is how the people can enforce compliance with the program of the single opposition candidate.

The PCCh, the report contends, should be a guide for the masses. Maintaining the mass mobilization, it should prepare its own program in consultation and discussion with other parties. An advanced democracy will be attained, the report adds, by making an orderly arrangement of our ideas on a socialist project for Chile and by visualizing our prospects to gain power. The fifth plenum of the PCCh national committee focused its attention on the increasing de facto and de jure legalization of the PCCh. The Communists also call for intensified efforts to recover the offices and properties that were seized by the dictatorship.

The document affirms that we can, and should, emerge from under the dictorship as a large party. It has been demonstrated, the document adds, that the PCCh is not as isolated as it is purported to be. We have, the document affirms, the people's sympathy and support as was demonstrated at the 14 October demonstration that was characterized by the force and magnitude of its antifascist and revolutionary content and by the party and communist youth militants' lesson of political maturity as they revealed understanding of what Patricio Aylwin represents.

The people's support for the Communists, the fifth plenum of the PCCh national commitee asserted, has also been expressed at recent labor, student, and neighborhood board elections. This reality, the report points out, gives the lie to the alleged isolation of the PCCh; and, in view of it, the fifth plenum of the national committe concludes that flippant notions such as this of isolation must be dismissed because they only contribute to excluding the PCCh from the political picture and to resigning ourselves to wait for 1993 or for better times in the future.

The fifth plenum of the PCCh national committee reiterated the call for a great effort in promoting the campaign of the PCCh candidates, and it warned that the election results will not reflect the real strength and support the party commands, because of the anti-democratic restrictions of the electoral law, anticommunism, and the persecution of which communists are the target.

Discussing electoral matters in depth, the fifth plenum of the PCCh Central Committee demands reform of the electoral law. We should, the plenum says, stand for democratization and proportionality so that all forces are properly represented. The reaction's position, affirms the fifth plenum of the PCCh, is to leave the situation on the brink of a crisis; the reaction has great resources and power to do this. The document of the plenum underscores the need to keep the reactionary forces from resuming the initiative, whether politically or militarily.

The document refers to the ideological offensive that must be launched against the reactionary attempts, and it notes the role the communists must play in that offensive as the most stalwart and noble fighters in the past 16 years, without whose decisive contribution we would not be today on the threshhold of the dictatorship's end. Likewise, the document refers to the lessons the triumph and defeat of the popular government left for the people.

The fifth plenum of the PCCh national committee pointed out that the task of the PCCh is to struggle to give a new course to economic development, taking into account the national and popular interest and the need to benefit the workers and eradicate poverty.

Report Discusses Political Strategy

PY2411133089 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The fifth plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh], held after the 15th congress, allowed elaboration on and more thorough discussion of the vital issues brought up during the congress.

The plenum energetically and exhaustively discussed the Chilean political situation that has resulted from the unitarian and combative spirit surrounding the 14 December elections. The PCCh's chances of living up to expectations were also thoroughly discussed.

The report states that no one should regard the congress as concluded. The congress will continue as the approved resolutions are implemented and the tasks completed. The PCCh has enthusiastically supported this plenum as a congress for renewal and for the rebellion of masses.

The fifth plenum's report refers to the government's efforts to destroy the PCCh. When the government realized that its efforts to destroy the party had failed, it tried to divide the PCCh and undermine the role it plays.

The document then states that rallying the PCCh behind the proposals of the 15th congress is a process not free of contradictions, struggles, and internal confrontations. The 15th congress, according to the PPCh Central Committee's plenum, synthesizes the efforts of many years. It has reasserted and developed our revolutionary line and given new impetus to the renewal process started within the party before the eighties. We have accomplished great things since the 15th congress, but there is still a lot to be done.

The report goes on to say that to oust the dictatorship we need to start a new phase with the masses and vigorously promote our project for a popular democratic government leading to socialism. For this, states the document, we need a renewed party, free of dogmatism, sectarianism, coercion, [word indistinct]. A strong party, united politically and able to ideologically renew itself, will have a decisive influence on the current and future political panorama.

Referring to the current political situation, the report by the Fifth Plenum of the PCCh Central Committee states that this is a time of great possibilities to advance the revolution, but also of threats and complex situations. Now more than ever we should be prepared to face sudden changes in the political situation with sudden changes in our political tactics.

In other words, in the congress we stated that similarly or more difficult moments could arise that would require a national rebellion of the masses. This is one of the conclusions reached during the congress. It was decided that we must be capable of focusing all efforts on the main forms of struggle for certain political situations, but at the same time we should be ready to develop other forms according to the changes taking place at a certain moment.

The report then goes on to say that this is an important point because, although we are at the threshold of democracy, the new situation that will prevail in the country will no longer represent a return to an anachronistic democratic past that has been overcome by history. The PCCh and the people will have to acknowledge a completely new democratic reality, with all the contradictions, threats, and complexity that typify a society that is divided into antagonic social classes and, therefore, is not based only on persuasion and consensus but also on coercion and violence.

The plenum report goes on to say that these are lessons we must bear in mind because imperialism and the reactionary forces are keeping them in mind for the future. The report of the Fifth Plenum of the PCCh Central Committee ends by stating that this is why the line of thinking set by the 15th congress fits the current situation.

'People's Role' in Reform Viewed

PY2411183789 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The electoral campaign has once again underlined the importance of parties, as compared to those who Pinochet has referred to as politicians. In the report on its 15th congress the Chilean Communist Party [PCCh] has also noted the following: We can say that there is a new trend that we should support. The organized people—beyond parties—are following independent paths, with unity and without exclusions, putting their own policy into practice.

This is not meant to disregard or downgrade the role played by parties. In addition to its theoretical meaning, this statement properly takes into account the role and unity of the masses and their social organizations in the struggle against the dictatorship.

Democratic parties have undoubtedly played a role in this struggle, which they have encouraged and guided. However, as the fifth plenum of the PCCh Central Committee said, revolutionary changes are implemented by the masses. The people's role will also play a part in the elections for president and Congress. Everyone knows that the people will have to do more than just cast their votes; their deep opposition to the dictatorship will not be overcome just because democracy turns out to be the choice of a great majority.

The long and dangerous period between the elections and 11 March—even though everything seems to indicate that this period will be extended even longer—will be marked by a new form of expression of the dicatorship-democracy contradiction.

The dictatorship will do everything in its power to establish a parallel power that will seek to subordinate the new government to its own objectives and policies in an attempt to destabilize and bring about the failure of the new administration in order to retake power with Pinochet.

The new government will have more stability and more support from the people, the fifth plenunm said in its report, if it fulfills its government program and meets the hopes it has awakened.

The people's unquestionable democratic feelings will defend the government elected on 14 December. The people's support will be even stronger if the government is broadly democratic.

The role of the organized masses has been clearly outlined, for example, in the process of democratizing the neighborhood boards, which have been schools of democracy for hundreds of thousands of Chileans raised under fascism. The role of the masses was also evidenced in the elections of student authorities at the universities, where the people—without losing their independence or their spirit of unity—elected students and residents of poorer neighborhoods who were identified with the parties that are more actively engaged in the struggle against the dictatorship.

As was noted by Central Labor Union [CUT] President Manuel Bustos, the autonomy and independence of the CUT, even with respect to the future democratic government, follows the same direction. This independence and autonomy is in no way opposed to the presence of all labor movements within the CUT.

The lessons learned from these 16 years of fascism are clear. They essentially call for the strengthening of the concept of democracy. This will play a very positive role in the elections, which the people will win, and in the events that this stage of the victory will initiate for democracy and necessary changes.

Complete Removal of Pinochet Urged

PY2811182589 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Last week Jaime Insunza and Mireya Baltra, two high-ranking leaders of the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh], reported on the main issues discussed and the resolutions approved at the Fifth PCCh Plenum.

This plenum focused mainly on the final stage of the electoral campaign and called upon all democratic sectors to work for the victory of the opposition and to repel any attack or threat from the dictatorship. This station phoned Jaime Insunza, who briefly described the main issues discussed by the PCCh Central Committee.

[Begin Insunza recording] The Central Committee plenum emphasized the extent of the agreement reached within the framework of absolute democracy, and the progress of the unity-seeking campaign which has been, generally speaking, very efficient and very successful. It called for new efforts to reach the people [words indistinct], how we can reach the greatest number of people—calling on them to do all they can to make sure that the opposition wins.

The plenum also analyzed and discussed the situation prior to 14 December and this year's objectives for the democratic movement: to secure victory and use popular action to prevent any attempt to ignore the victory of democracy. The plenum also addressed the possibility of engaging the masses in immediate actions capable of launching the democratization of the country without further delay. [end recording]

You have been listening to PCCh leader Jaime Insunza reporting on the main resolutions of the recent plenum of the PCCh Central Committee. Insunza also talked about the risks of conciliatory approaches and about the role of popular organizations in the quest for the urgent and massive democratic changes that the country needs.

[Begin Insunza recording] The plenum emphasized that conciliatory approaches must be avoided at all costs. On the contrary, popular action is needed to implement, at the municipal level and in the universities and in various social sectors, the urgent measures set out in our party program in order to (?hasten) the democratization of our country. Action must also be taken regarding human rights, especially to obtain the release of political prisoners, [words indistinct] to see that justice is done, and to make sure that the National Intelligence Center [CNI] and the other dictatorial repressive mechanisms are definitely and effectively dismantled. [end recording]

Insunza concluded by saying that the need to remove Pinochet from all positions was emphasized at the fifth plenum that was held after the 15th PCCh National Congress. Insunza added that Pinochet must go, once and for all, for the good of democracy. He said this was well understood by all democratic organizations because they all agreed that Pinochet's presence is undoubtedly a great obstacle to the democratization process.

PCCh Decries Destruction of Intelligence Files

PY2411212889 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 23 Nov 89

["Political Cronicle" feature]

[Text] All Chilean democratic political and social organizations have rejected the announcement by dictatorship representatives that CNI [National Intelligence Service] files will be destroyed. The Catholic Church, the Chilean Human Rights Commission, and all organizations dedicated to guarding and promoting respect for the rights of Chileans were the first to reject the regime's plan, which only attempts to hide the evidence of crimes committed by the regime's repressive organizations in 16 years.

According to opposition leader Jaime Insunza, the actual purpose of the measure is to hide the crimes committed by an organization under Pinochet's direct orders and to weaken a future democratic government by preventing the truth from emerging and justice from prevailing.

Here is what Jaime Insunza has to say about the destruction of the CNI files:

[Begin Insunza recording] Practically all political sectors have rejected the announcement made by Pinochet—which is supported by presidential candidate Hernan Buchi—that the CNI files will be destroyed. This is undoubtedly a maneuver to try and hide the truth and prevent the implementation of justice. This is the only purpose of the measures because Pinochet realizes that a democracy without truth and justice will always be weak and more vulnerable to coupist attempts. [end recording]

Jaime Insunza then referred to the Chilean people's responsibility in making truth prevail, in implementing justice, and in preventing Pinochet from carrying out his plans to hide the truth.

[Begin Insunza recording] We have always maintained that the first thing the people must do is categorically reject this maneuver Pinochet is planning. They must be convinced that truth and justice are the responsibility of each and every citizen. If Pinochet does carry out this attempt to destroy these CNI documents that contain the history of state terrorism, the history of the most outrageous and brutal violations of human rights humankind has experienced during the past few years, the people themselves will have to reconstruct these files from their own memories, their own experience. We, therefore, appeal to all Chileans who may have information to give it to any social organization or any organization that supports respect for human rights so that we may respond with action to Pinochet's plans. I think it will be a way of preventing Pinochet from concealing the crimes and violations of human rights for which he is responsible. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Session

27 Nov Evening Session Chaired by Gorbachev

*PM3011095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1-2*

[Report from the Kremlin by PRAVDA parliamentary group N. Musiyenko, G. Ovcharenko, and Ye. Sorokin: "Difficult Finish"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The evening sitting [27 Nov] of the Supreme Soviet, which was chaired by M.S. Gorbachev, began an hour earlier than usual—at 1500 hrs. It opened with a discussion of the draft Law on Economic Independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Latvian SSR, and the Estonian SSR. V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform Questions, gave the report on this question. Noting that the committees and commissions jointly with representatives of union and republican organs had done a lot of work to bring the draft into line with the legislation in force, he acquainted the deputies with the amendments and additions to the draft.

Then L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was given the floor. He introduced on the government's behalf two additions, and that, strictly speaking, should have been the limit of his functions. It turned out otherwise—Abalkin was literally inundated with questions. Would the Baltic Republics have their own currency? Won't we be breaking up the federation? Without avoiding giving clear and accurate answers, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers was twice forced to reproach the deputies. And the reproach seemed to be quite justified. "Why," he said in surprise, "do you ask me, a representative of the government, these questions? The law was formulated on your initiative, 'it went through' the committees and commissions." Evidently, the fact that Abalkin—as an economist of high standing—in essence answers on behalf of all scholarly thought, was the reason for this.

M.S. Gorbachev spoke several times during the debate. He noted that we must put past experience behind us and accumulate fresh experience. In making the decision, we must proceed from the premise that we need this law for it is proceeding along the path of economic reform and of strengthening the federation, rather than of weakening it.

After prolonged polemics, it was, at Ye.M. Primakov's suggestion, decided to vote for the draft as a whole, taking into consideration two government amendments and a clarification by Deputy A.A. Denisov, who proposed including in the preamble of Article 1 of the draft law the words "in accordance with USSR laws." A decision was made for individual voting. The law entered into force with 67 votes "against" and 37 "abstentions."

The second half of the session's evening sitting, over which Ye.M. Primakov presided, was devoted to completing the debate on the draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republican Legislation on Land. A very heated dispute flared up about what land rights the autonomous republics and other national-territorial formations, and also peoples who do not have their own statehood would have. The Supreme Soviet approved at the first reading the basic provisions of the draft law and decided to publish it for nationwide discussion, but before this it instructed the appropriate committees and commissions to include in the text the deputies' remarks and suggestions.

Let us note that yesterday the parliamentarians worked fruitfully. It is proposed that the second USSR Supreme Soviet session will end its work today.

'Text' of Supreme Soviet Appeal on Afghan Veterans

*LD2911182289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1730 GMT 29 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (TASS)—We report the text of the appeal:

APPEAL OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The USSR Supreme Soviet, proceeding from principles of humanism, has adopted a decision on an amnesty for former servicemen of the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who committed crimes.

The amnesty confirms that all Soviet servicemen who were captured and are missing in Afghanistan, will, upon their return to the homeland, not have their rights impinged upon in any way, and will be able to avail themselves fully of the civil rights envisaged by the USSR Constitution.

The Soviet State is displaying magnanimity and mercy, proceeding from the highest considerations of humanism.

In connection with this, the USSR Supreme Soviet appeals to all peoples, parliaments and governments, to public organizations of foreign countries, and to all people of goodwill, urging them to give the utmost assistance in the return to the homeland of former servicemen of the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who became prisoners of the Afghan armed opposition or who are in its composition or in other countries.

By adopting the amnesty, the USSR Supreme Soviet is proving its adherence to the new political thinking and to universal values, goodness, and justice.

USSR Supreme Soviet

Moscow, Kremlin

28 November 1989

Further on Lukyanov 29 Nov Closing Remarks

PM3011123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy report: "The Session Is Over—The Congress Lies Ahead"]

[Excerpts] How many days, how many working hours did the session last? We pondered this when A.I. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, closed the debate on the last question under discussion—the draft Law on Leave—and addressed a brief concluding speech to the people's deputies. Indeed, what did the USSR Supreme Soviet's second session produce in most general terms? It opened 25 September and lasted 42 working days. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, A.I. Lukyanov addressed the people's deputies. You will be going home to your electoral okrugs, he said, and you will have to address your voters and tell them what we accomplished during this second session. Just a couple of words about this. First of all, summing up the session's results, it can be said with certainty that the Supreme Soviet did fulfill the basic tasks it had set itself in performance of the instructions given to us by the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

As you may recall, there were 34 items on the agenda. Over the 2 months we examined 29 items on this list, including 19 questions of primary importance and 20 questions we had added subsequently in line with life's demands. During this time the session also adopted some most important normative acts like the Law on Leasing and the Law on Economic Autonomy for the Baltic Republics. Amendments were introduced to the Law on the Cooperative System. Six of what are already most important documents have been submitted for discussion, documents which will be of key importance for life, the economic reform, and many social questions.

Substantial importance attaches to the Law on Procedures for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts), even though additional work will have to be done regarding the mechanism for its operation. A whole series of laws were given their first reading, and the committees and commissions are continuing to work most energetically on them. These are the laws on the cooperative system, the taxation system, the socialist enterprise, and others.

It seems to me, A.I. Lukyanov went on, that it is hard to overestimate what was accomplished by the Supreme Soviet when it adopted the declaration recognizing as illegal and criminal the repressive acts against peoples subjected to forcible resettlement and guaranteeing their rights. This is a document of colossal importance.

We prepared virtually all documents that have to be submitted to the Congress. These are the laws on amendments to the Constitution, on Congress standing orders, on constitutional oversight, on the status and recall of deputies, and others. They will all be distributed among deputies by 1 December. Some of them are already in your possession. I have been asked when materials on the Council of Ministers report to the Congress will be available. I can tell you that all these proposals were approved by an enlarged sitting of the Council of Ministers last Saturday. These materials are now with the printers and will be sent to people's deputies. In this way, every deputy should have the materials for the Congress and an opportunity to work on them about 2 weeks or 10 days before the Congress.

Speaking of legislative functions, we must take a look at the fast development of the Supreme Soviet's executive functions. This includes the adoption of the plan and budget, which really are major documents. In addition to this, we also examined a broad range of different questions of an executive nature—questions associated with railroad transport operations, the national economy's base sectors, strikes...

In my view, A.I. Lukyanov noted, very great importance attached to questions concerning international relations.

But the main and most indicative point is the fact that committees and commission have started working very energetically. Gradually, the center of gravity as it were, the basic parameters of the Supreme Soviet's work are shifting to committees and commissions. Voters will probably ask you how many sittings they held. About 350. You know the arguments that developed there and the large amount of work that got done. It is true to say that some questions were not examined—yes, five items on the agenda were not examined. But as I already said, we did examine 20 additional questions. This probably calls for the introduction of certain amendments, the Supreme Soviet must function much more efficiently.

But quite a lot has been done. We should probably not allow any rushed work in the legislative process. It would be much worse if we were hasty and adopted insufficiently substantiated and not fully considered decisions.

The Supreme Soviet's ties with the population were considerably strengthened in the recent past. We received several hundred thousand letters during this time. Deputies themselves used our reception rooms for personal meetings with more than 1,000 persons who addressed them with complaints, petitions, and suggestions. Let alone the number of people you met outside the reception rooms and the number of people in whose lives you got involved.

A.I. Lukyanov announced that he had only just received a telephone call from M.S. Gorbachev. The first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet told session participants that the chairman is up to his ears in preparations for his trip abroad and his meeting with the U.S. President, and very much regrets that he was unable to take part in the final stage of our session's work. Mikhail Sergeyevich asked me to convey to all deputies best wishes for successful work during the meetings they will have with voters at local level, wishes for painstaking and responsible preparation by people's deputies for the forthcoming Second Congress. He expressed the opinion that the Supreme Soviet is steadily gathering strength and is playing an active part in all spheres of the leadership of our country's life, that the slogan about full power to the soviets is being gradually and persistently implemented and is being increasingly felt by our people. This means that perestroyka is advancing, that the reform of the political system is advancing, and the Supreme Soviet is playing an increasingly noticeable role in this sphere.

Allow me, comrades, A.I. Lukyanov said in conclusion, to wish to your voters, whom you will be meeting, successes in our joint and harmonious work, and to say to you: Until we meet at the Congress! [end report on Lukyanov speech]

As for us, following the established tradition, we conducted a mini-poll of people's deputies who had just come out of the hall where our parliament's chambers sit. What are their impressions of the session's work? What hopes do they associate with the forthcoming Congress? [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Assesses Second Parliamentary Session

LD3011061789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1852 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Political observer Viktor Lyubovtsev interview with A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in the empty Supreme Soviet chamber, date not given; from the "Topical Interview" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lyubovtsev] It must be unusual to see the chamber so empty and quiet. For more than 2 months heated arguments and parliamentary battles, as we now call them, have taken place here. Are you tired, Anatoliy Ivanovich?

[Lukyanov] Well, I think that for the person chairing such intense debate tiredness is always an impermissible thing, a luxury. One simply has to have one's wits about one all the time, one has to be energetic and at the same time attentive to people, and sometimes one just has to make a joke to defuse...

[Lyubovtsev] The situation.

[Lukyanov] ...the situation. This is because sometimes it is very difficult. But you have to. Generally, let us not speak about tiredness, let us talk about the work at hand.

[Lyubovtsev] Returning to the same question, viewers note in their letters that you invariably, almost invariably, maintain your cool and your self-possession, even at the most heated moments in the debates that flare up here. It can't be easy.

[Lukyanov] I think that is an illusion. There is no calm. Inside, everything is burning, burning thoroughly, and sometimes it rises to the surface. Deputies know that, to my regret! [passage omitted: Lukyanov lists the issues dealt with by the session: leasing, ownership, law on land, pensions, workers' leave, ecology, law on press]

I think that under no circumstances can one fail to mention that at this session many issues dealing with interethnic relations and our federation were discussed. I would like to enumerate them here: the draft law on languages, the draft law on freedom, the rights of a citizen of any nationality residing in the territory of a republic, the draft law on citizenship—you see the wide range of interethnic questions.

Interethnic relations are a very complex issue that has to be solved within the framework of the session itself every time. What is essential? It is essential that we adopted a major declaration on rehabilitation—rehabilitating those people who were illegitimately and unjustly repressed in their time. At the last sitting of the session we did more than that—we adopted a decision on the commission proposal on Soviet Germans and on the issue of providing rights to the Crimean Tatars. We also discussed the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh in a very serious, very robust, I would say, and very thorough way. All deputies, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium as well, have a great interest in undoing the difficult knot that has been tied in the Caucasus. This decision has been published in the press and I hope it will be correctly interpreted by Armenia as well as by Azerbaijan, and the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, too.

[Lyubovtsev] Which will help to solve this painful issue.

[Lukyanov] Yes, this difficult issue. [passage omitted: Lukyanov mentions legislation in the field of the legal system and citizens' rights, which were also dealt with during the session]

We planned to adopt 39, no—34 legislative acts altogether; 29 issues on the agenda have been discussed, including 19 of primary importance, and it happened that 20 more questions were on top of that.

[Lyubovtsev] Over and above the program.

[Lukyanov] Over and above the program. That's it.

[Lyubovtsev] Anatoliy Ivanovich, let us look back at those 2 plus months. Which issues were particularly difficult to solve? Interethnic? Social? Economic?

[Lukyanov] You know, I simply can't recall a question that could be solved now without difficulties, without a clash of opinions, without comparison of the points of views, without taking into consideration ethnic peculiarities. Far from just the issues of the union republics themselves, I can recall for example how stormy—but at the same time well-considered—the discussion was on the issue, the law on the economic independence of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics. This was discussed in a stormy way. The question was examined very acutely under the leadership of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, but all the same a decision was adopted that was well-considered and suited everyone. I was not surprised when the deputies rose to their feet and applauded their own decision.

[Lyubovtsev] Anatoliy Ivanovich, you have touched on lawmaking activities, but the parliament has managing as well as monitoring functions. How are things here?

[Lukyanov] I think that, first and foremost, if one speaks about managing functions, then this primarily means the plan and the budget we have adopted. It has been discussed for 1 ½ months. It has been discussed in great detail in the commissions. It was discussed in the most detailed of ways at the session. There were sharp disputes, and eventually, after many points of contention, clashes, and discussions, we arrived at the point where we confirmed a plan that comprises a program of measures for the recovery of our economy, and for its onward advancement. This is the managing activity. Moreover, life itself evoked the adoption of a whole series of such decisions of a managing character which the Soviet parliament—and it possesses managing functions—ought to adopt. These were decisions about the situation in the railways, about overcoming strikes, about regulating prices, about certain corrections that were made to the activity of cooperatives, and so forth. Quite a large number of such decisions have been adopted, and we have been, as it were—that is parliament and the Supreme Soviet—responding to life's interrogation. That is the first thing.

The other thing is that the monitoring activities will definitely increase. It seems to me that at present this work has been somewhat muffled at the sessions of the Supreme Soviet. On the whole the monitoring activities, at least now, are basically in the commissions. A very large number of issues are being heard in them. I took a look, for instance, at the work of the commission on health care. The commission heard a whole number of acute issues connected with disease prevention, the fight against AIDS, and the fight against alcoholism—a whole number of very serious issues—and naturally it questioned the leaders of government bodies. Over the period the commissions held in all more than 350 sittings. Naturally this is a large amount of work that has proceeded, as it were, off-camera. It is, however, really the base that prepares a thorough examination for us in this respect.

[Lyubovtsev] It is no secret that within parliament as within our society there are various approaches to painful and pressing problems and various standpoints and views which clash here in parliament, as they do within our society. Can it be said that the work of the session and the work of the deputies has promoted somewhat finding common solutions and consolidation?

[Lukyanov] I feel that the Supreme Soviet is after all a debate and an expression of different viewpoints. Then when it reaches a unity of view and when some decision comes into being from the dialogue it consolidates society.

The second session of the Supreme Soviet was more notable for this than the first session, precisely for consolidation, for a movement toward consolidation, toward finding generaled, harmonized decisions. One can say, on the one hand, that people have appeared among the deputies, very interesting people who express various viewpoints, but who work most actively. More and more people like that are appearing. For example, I can name Sharipov from Bashkiriya, Orlov from Chelyabinsk Oblast, Kim from Omsk, Sebentsov from Moscow, and Samarin from Orel. The viewers are already seeing them. They see how these people are working, how they are actively participating, and how a common viewpoint is born from various viewponts. This is one movement. But sometimes I think that it is very important for us that society should also understand parliament. Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Yevtushenko spoke and he said that it is the work office of the country with glass walls. Indeed it is. We are all on view now. Therefore it is very important—I am going to repeat this many times—to sense what reaction our words are receiving among the public. Therefore understanding of the public may also be very important for parliament.

Sometimes the people are very impatient. It seems to the public that they are discussing something and it is necessary to pass a decision as soon as possible. But this is an illusion, because it is necessary to carefully consider and to weigh up a decision. Letters are written about us, and people demand that whatever the cost something be published or given out as soon as possible or that some decision be adopted, sometimes not even considering that the decision must then be implemented and that it costs money and requires organizational efforts, or else it will be an empty piece of paper. Is that not so? Therefore, it is important that people understand, and here much depends on journalists and on the deputies themselves. It is important that people understand their elected representatives, and that people don't rush us into a frantic legislative spurt. They should nevertheless sense that the birth of a law is a most difficult business. I recall Mayakovskiy, defining poetry as being like mining radium: a gram of metal needs a year's work. So then I think that the birth of a law is just as difficult a matter. A gram of metal. Sometimes, for the sake of one single word, thousands of tons of verbal ore are consumed to precisely express the law.

[Lyubovtsev] Is it impossible to spur on that process?

[Lukyanov] It is impossible. It is simply dangerous for the public because tomorrow this will be the standard for the activity of millions of people.

[Lyubovtsev] Yet sometimes an impression forms that some deputies' speeches are governed not by an understanding of the impatience in society but, if I may put it like this, by a desire to wax eloquent from that fine rostrum.

[Lyukanov] There has come to be a little less of that. People have become somewhat accustomed to the television cameras and have become somewhat accustomed to the fact that responsibility is growing. On the other hand, we are inundated with a growing flood of letters and telegrams from people who demand that the deputies work and that the deputies not walk about the hall, that they not read newspapers. Generally, the letters are more and more intense and vigorous. The public reacts with particular impatience when a deputy makes a speech merely to pronounce an eloquent word, when sometimes a deputy only draws the blanket toward his own departmental side or his own parochial side. People write directly about this.

You know, I always recall the fine words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. In the work "What is To Be Done" he wrote the following about demagogy: demagogy is the worst enemy of the working class, the worst because, at a period of disorder and turmoil, at a period when the physiognomy of our movement is only forming, there is nothing easier than to allure the crowd in a demagogical way, whereafter only the most bitter trials will convince it of its mistake. We need to remember very well that Leninist warning that was made 80 years ago. It is very easy to allure the masses, which later will become disappointed on the basis of their own bitter experience. The responsibility here of the deputies who speak from this rostrum should be immense, immense.

[Lyubovtsev] In conclusion, Anatoliy Ivanovich, there will be the congress in 2 weeks time. What do you expect from the Second Congress of People's Deputies?

[Lukyanov] Generally, I want to say that preparation for that congress has been under way for a long time now. It has been proceeding through fulfillment of the decisions the first congress made and through what it charged the Supreme Soviet to do. In this period of time very much has been prepared. Every deputy has received in the past few days not only a provisional schedule for holding of the congress on a day to day basis, and the congress will last approximately 10 days, but he has also received decisions, draft decision on changes to the Constitution, and new draft rules and a draft law about constitutional supervision. Now deputies will also receive the new draft law on the status and recall of deputies. This means that deputies will receive major, serious material for preparation.

The report of the government about measures for the recovery of the economy, the stages of the economic reform, and the approaches to drafting a new 5-year plan evidently will be the general focus of all the matters to be discussed at the congress. This will be the main issue to be discussed at the congress, and I think that people are awaiting that, that the voters and the country are awaiting it. Nine issues have been proposed for the agenda by the Supreme Soviet. These are major, serious issues. I think that the congress will discuss that agenda, and therefore December will prove quite hot.

[Lyubovtsev] How will deputies spend these next 2 weeks? If I might set you a personal question, how will you spend these days before the congress?

[Lukyanov] Let us nevertheless begin with the deputies. The deputies now will travel to their localities, to their electorate. The first thing is that they will naturally engage in meetings with the electorate. This is a major and difficult process. These meetings take place in a tense way. People demand much. People are discontent with many things. Therefore there will be acute discussions during the meetings. Then the deputies will bring that experience to the congress.

The second thing is that I have said they will get all the materials of the congress, including materials pertaining to the report of the government. It is natural that they will thoroughly study these materials and prepare for the congress, and then they will probably discuss some of those materials with the electorate too.

Finally the third point is the work and the self-preparation of the deputies, their communications, their penetration into all the details of the life of their regions. This is what the deputies have ahead. So there will not be very much rest in this small space of time—2 weeks. As for the Supreme Soviet, our work will be on the increase connected with preparation for the very important event the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies will be.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you very much, Anatoliy Ivanovich, for this conversation. Allow me to wish you fruitful work.

Supreme Soviet Second Session Reviewed

LD2911121189 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which ended here yesterday, was marked by purposeful legislative endeavours, not emotions.

Soviet parliament's proceedings differed substantially this time from the summer session. There were no emotional outbursts and the deliberations became more constructive, although growing quite heated at times. Thanks to its more businesslike atmosphere and a greater respect for differing viewpoints, the session was able to adopt several documents of key importance for Soviet society's renovation.

They include the bills on ownership and land that were approved in the first reading and the endorsed legislation on lease. These legislative acts, sweeping aside many traditional Soviet politico-economic postulates, aim to overcome excessive centralisation in Soviet economy and to promote commodity-market relations in the country.

The law on the economic independence of the three Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—was an important step towards a new Soviet federation. The document gives them the right to manage their economies and financial systems in accordance with Soviet laws. It will contribute to more rational relations between the republics and the union. The experience of these republics will help other republics to adjust to the new economic conditions more smoothly.

Discussion of the draft plan and budget for 1990 was an example of the deputies' responsible approach to difficult economic problems. The government's proposals were not rubber-stamped, but critically analysed in committees and commissions. The six-weeks of work produced documents that are distinguished by realism, clear-cut social orientation. They are free from the old urge to boost gross output figures.

Parliament has not only discussed economic problems. The deputies have approved several documents intended to reform the political and legal system of Soviet society. Noteworthy among them is the bill on amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution pertaining to the election system.

This bill has yet to be endorsed by the Congress of People's Deputies, but many republics have already adjusted their elections legislation to conform to it. These changes pave the way to democratic elections to republic and local bodies of power that will take place from December 1989 to March 1990.

In summing up the autumn session's preliminary results the approved fundamental principles of court legislation should not be overlooked. Trial by jury has been enacted for the first time in Soviet history. Noteworthy also is the law on collective labour disputes which became particularly necessary after the miners' strikes this summer.

On the whole, it can be said that the autumn session of Soviet Parliament has discharged its basic duties. The country is now looking forward to the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, a new step in perestroyka.

Political & Social

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Views Economic Issues

LD2911150189 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

It is difficult to say what particular industry of the Russian Federation, the largest Soviet republic stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Ocean to the Altay Mountains, is in more urgent need of financial and material resources.

Many deputies attending the current session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation are asking the republic's government to earmark more means for the social development of Russia's regions, such as the production of industrial goods and foods, housing construction and the building of cultural amenities, an increase in wages and pensions as well as nature protection.

The current session of the Russian parliament is different from previous ones. The deputies are discussing not only ways of redistributing the state budget, but also problems of economic development and political conditions necessary for the economic reform.

Worker Vladimir Politov from Nizhniy Tagil, the Urals, said that the Soviet people had paid dearly for errors in economic policy. He demanded acceleration of the price reform and came out in favour of money reform, and said that earnings should be in strict dependence on the work contribution.

Deputy Anatoliy Fateyev, second secretary of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee, described the situation in the Soviet Union as a crisis, not only because of chronic shortages of consumer goods, but also because of the growing stratification of Soviet society when some of its members get rich through unearned incomes and others live in poverty.

"The mounting social tensions," he said "are undermining belief in the current reforms. Many economic decisions are being adopted hastily. People's uncertainty in their future, especially among workers, is playing into the hands of those political forces who want to destabilise the situation.

They stir up the strike committees and kindle interethnic conflicts. These pseudo-recvolutionaries are particularly keen on the property issue which is the question of power. A turn to the privatisation of the Soviet economy is within the interests of rich dealers of the shadow economy and some cooperatives which have substantially increased their capital by finding loopholes in the legislation."

Writer Anatoliy Kalinin also spoke about the activisation of these destructive forces.

His and other speeches will be taken into account by Soviet economists who will develop the country's and republic's economic strategy. The practical task of the current session is to draw up an optimal plan of Russia's economic and social development and the state budget for 1990. This is the task of parliamentary commissions.

1990 Plan Approved

LD2911174789 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The parliament of the Russian Federation, now in session in the Kremlin, has approved the republic's plan of

Negotiating parties should remain calm, seeking new ways out and sharing them with their partners.

Yeltsin, Yaroshenko Arrive in Athens 30 Nov

LD3011121889 Moscow TASS in English 1142 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Athens November 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Sysoyev:

USSR People's Deputies Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Yaroshenko arrived in the Greek capital on Wednesday at the invitation of the influential KATHIMERINI newspaper and the Sky local radio station. Tomorrow they will be joined by Deputies Anatoliy Sobchak and Sergeyi Stankevich.

"We came to Athens at the invitation of several Greek politicians and public figures, representatives of university circles, one of the central newspapers and a local radio station," Yeltsin told TASS.

"We have traditional links with Greece. This country has rich history, cultural, democratic and universal human values. I think that in the past few years our politicians and parliamentarians did not pay due attention to it, and we will try to make up for it. Our countries should more actively develop cooperation in all fields, including economic.

"For our part, we will brief them on events inour country, the pace of perestroika and difficulties the Soviet Union encounters on this road.

"The main thing is dialogue between peoples, the wish for greater mutual understanding."

In the evening a reception was held for the Soviet guests at the city hall, attended by prominent politicians, public figures, leaders of political parties, heads of diplomatic missions and journalists.

Today the deputies will meet Greek Prime Minister Xenophon Zolotas and leader of the new Democracy Party Constantinos Mitsotakis, they will also visit two educational establishments in the capital. The programme of the visit also includes a meeting with leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement Party Andreas Papandreou and speaker of the Greek parliament Anthanasios Tsaldaris.

On Friday Yeltsin and Yaroshenko will hold a news conference at the association of foreign journalists. After that they will embark on a two-day trip around the country. The delegation will return to the Soviet Union on December 4.

Voronin Delegation Begins Visit to Turkey

Meetings in Instanbul

LD2911222389 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Istanbul November 29 TASS—A Soviet Government delegation led by First Deputy Premier Lev Voronin arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of the Turkish Government. In Istanbul's Atatuerk International Airport the delegation was met by the city's Governor Cahit Bayar and other officials.

In a statement for the press made at the airport Voronin said the Soviet Government is satisfied with the present status of Soviet-Turkish relations and attaches much importance to their comprehensive development.

In the course of meetings and talks trade and economic cooperation between the two countries as well as prospects for broader Soviet-Turkish relations in different fields will be examined.

Later in the day Voronin paid a visit to Istanbul Governor Cahit Bayar. At a meeting held in a friendly atmosphere, the sides noted a mutual desire for establishing advantageous bilateral relations at the level of cities and regions.

At a meeting with the Turkish-Soviet Business Cooperation Committee, Voronin pointed to the presence of great opportunities and prospects for boosting the volume of trade and economic relations between the USSR and Turkey.

Committee Chairman Nihat Gekigit warmly greeted the Soviet visitors and noted the great importance of the visit for the development of bilateral cooperation.

Statement on Turkish Bulgarians

TA2911114089 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, has stated that the Soviet Union wishes the peaceful and prosperous coexistence of ethnic Turks and Bulgarians in Bulgaria. Voronin arrived on an official visit to Turkey.

In a statement at Istanbul Ataturk Airport, Voronin expressed his satisfaction over the development of all aspects of bilateral relations. Noting that the means to step up commercial relations between the two countries are being sought, Voronin added that the good relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union are significant for European peace as well. He will attend Turkish-Soviet business council meetings in Istanbul and visit various industrial installations. Voronin will also hold contacts in Izmir and Ankara. He will leave Turkey on 6 December.

Article Urges Reduced Tensions in Mediterranean

90UI0137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by V. Shein, candidate of historical sciences: "Dialogue Prospects"]

[Text] **The situation in the Mediterranean, where the threads of world politics are closely intertwined, is always of interest. It has increased even more now, in connection with the fact that the Soviet leader's visit to Italy will take place very shortly and that then a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush will take place on Soviet and American ships in the Mediterranean. Readers' letters to the editors are expressing hope for further changes for the better in East-West relations. The question of how in the context of the thaw in the international and, particularly, European climate the situation in the Mediterranean region itself may be improved is being heard also.**

The positive changes in international relations have been most tangible in recent years on the European continent. It is here that there have been real achievements in the development of the cooperation of various states, mutual trust has been strengthening and specific arms limitation measures have been implemented. There is growing confidence in Europe's peaceful and prosperous future, ideas concerning which are associated everywhere with the Soviet idea of the common European home.

The generally positive fact that Europe's future, as also its present, incidentally, depends on the situation not only on the continent itself but also in the areas adjoining it also has long been recognized and is now being perceived more keenly than before. It is a question in this case of the Mediterranean. Although the changes for the better have not bypassed this region either, the situation remains complex, on the whole. It is sufficient to recall the continuing Near East crisis and the Lebanon tragedy, the unsettled Cyprus problem, the unabating military tension and the multitude of difficulties clouding the day-to-day life of millions of people and from time to time jeopardizing domestic stability in a number of states. Under these circumstances Europeans frequently experience apprehension that, in the event of unpropitious events developing in the Mediterranean, detente in Europe could be weakened and undermined even.

Many disturbing questions are arising in non-European Mediterranean countries also. For example, will not the evolutions of the EEC after 1992 or the realization of the USSR's proposals concerning the common European home not lead to Europe's isolation from the Mediterranean states which are located beyond the continent and to a disruption of the traditional relations which have evolved between them? Will Europeans' interest in the numerous problems of the Mediterranean region and, consequently, in a search for ways to effectively overcome them not be seriously lost or seriously deformed? Such misgivings do not always arise in a void. Some may be alleviated or removed altogether, it having been explained, for example, that there are no plans to surround the common European home with a "Wall of China." But not all. After all, the certain skepticism in respect of the appeals, assurances and even official undertakings concerning the Mediterranean is clearly justified inasmuch as it is only very little which has in the past been embodied in practical matters. Nor is the process of ensuring security and cooperation in Europe any exception in this respect.

Let us take, for example, the Helsinki Final Act, which was approved back in 1975 and which is of key significance. It observes that "the process of a strengthening of security, not confined to Europe, should spread to other parts of the world, to the Mediterranean in particular." It says also that "the consolidation of security and the development of cooperation in Europe will stimulate positive processes in the Mediterranean region" and expresses the intention "to contribute to the cause of peace, security and justice in this area in the common interests of the participants (in the Helsinki Conference—V.Sh.) and nonparticipating Mediterranean states."

As we can see, the wording of the Final Act links Europe and the Mediterranean most closely. In addition, a number of areas of interaction was determined from the very outset—from the development of good-neighborly relations through protection of the environment. If to this is added the goal, recorded in the document, of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces and easing tension in the Mediterranean, an entirely serious and businesslike program for the future resulted.

Subsequently the Mediterranean reference points of the all- European process were developed and specified. Special meetings devoted to economic, scientific and cultural cooperation in the Mediterranean, a meeting of experts in the Maltese capital of Valetta (1979) and a seminar in Venice (1984) were held. The topic of the Mediterranean was discussed in one way or another at the Stockholm Conference and also at the all-European forums in Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna, which enriched the Helsinki program with new evaluations, ideas and recommendations.

However, a program is a program, and a critical view of the situation which has taken shape as of the present time in the Mediterranean reveals many irritating discrepancies. Between, for example, the need for multilateral political cooperation and its actual—extremely low—level; between the threatening supermilitarization of the region and its remoteness from the disarmament process; between the scale of the aims which are periodically proclaimed and the tortoise pace of their practical implementation; between the seriousness of the problems and the for-show nature of a number of proposed solutions.

remain on paper unless someone decides to impose it by the methods of the 30's. Was there any need to wait over 1 and ½ years to pass such a decision?

That decision is stillborn, said Setrak Setrakyan, head of the main Economic Planning Department of the NKAO and an economic sciences candidate. The fact that the document was passed after the Armenian and NKAO parliamentarians walked out of the hall in protest is nothing less than a direct insult to the Armenian people. I think that the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the NKAO National Council should adopt a clear position on that issue and make its stand known to the entire world. I also do not believe in the possibility of the implementation of self-administration and self-financing for the oblast, because all these beautiful words completely lose their meaning in the absence of the fundamental condition: national self-determination. It is not possible to erect a house without foundations. Similarly, the nascent decision to build the upper stories without reliable foundations is bound to prove most unsuccessful.

Protest demonstrations were held at the labour collectives, cities, and regions of the oblast today, 29 November. The speakers spoke angrily about the unjust solution of the NKAO problem. They stressed that the decision of the country's Supreme Soviet is openly capitulatory in nature; its content fully coincides with the demands of the Azerbaijan National Front. The instruction given to the Azerbaijan republic and the Supreme Soviet of that republic, on whose territory the Sumgait incidents were organized, to ensure the effective security of the Armenian population of the NKAO is quite ridiculous. Despite all the arbitrary decisions, Artsakh has made its own choice for good. The speakers frequently emphasized the fact that, in order to achieve that just and noble aim, Artsakh will continue to survive and will continue to wage the struggle, even now.

Azerbaijan Blockade of Armenia Resumes

NC3011104489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Aroyan, first deputy head of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railways, has said that no trains have come into Armenia from Azerbaijan in the last 2 days. No convincing replies have been received from the inquiries to the railway administration of that neighbouring republic.

The blockade of the Armenian Republic has resumed under the pressure and threats of the so-called Azerbaijan National Front. This might cause the termination of the restoration and construction work in the disaster zone. The blockade also makes it difficult to supply raw materials and goods to the enterprises and associations, and has a negative effect on the timely dispatch of manufactured goods by Armenian enterprises to the different parts of the country.

On 28 November, 14 trains with 384 freight cars arrived in Armenia from Georgia. Of these, 103 freight cars were loaded with construction materials, 34 brought cement, 46 carried prefabricated houses, and 5 tankers brought gasoline and diesel fuel, among other things.

During the day, 609 freight cars were unloaded at the Leninakan, Arevik, Payantur, Kirovakan, and Spitak stations. The number of unloaded rail cars stood at (?320).

Further on Blockade

LD2911195589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The blockade by Azerbaijan of rail and road routes leading to Armenia is in its 3d day. Our correspondent Kuryum Khamaryan reports:

[Khamaryan] Numerous telephone calls from Armenian railwaymen to Nakhichevan and Baku during these days are met with terse replies: There is a strike here. There is a strike over there, but over here builders in the earthquake zone are forced to stand around idle. Over 700,000 people will be forced to spend this winter in cold tents because the blockade, which has already become commonplace, is preventing the transport of building materials into the republic. Actually, it is not only building materials but also prefabricated houses and other temporary housing, which is being sent to Armenia from all corners of the country and the world. Many works and factories are today under threat of stoppage. Is there a way out of this situation? My conversation with Oganes Danilovich Danilyan, secretary of the Yerevan City Party Committee, began with that question:

[Begin recording] [Danilyan] The only hope remaining, all the same, is for the central government, in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Soviet, to adopt resolute measures to eliminate that blockade.

[Khamaryan] So far, not one train with either food or building materials has reached us. All civilized countries of the world have some kind of laws regulating the strike movement. Do you think it is probably necessary to introduce some kind of tough parameters on the railways and roads, in aviation, and the communications sector generally?

[Danilyan] The Supreme Soviet of the Union has adopted a decision and given extraordinary powers to the government on that issue. [end recording]

Deputy Discusses Results of NKAO-Azeri Meeting

NC1711161289 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Nov 89

["A Solution Must Be Found"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The report by the Soviet of Nationalities commission studying the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was scheduled to be discussed during the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Prior to such a discussion, the group of deputies from Azerbaijan and the NKAO held contacts to find alternative solutions. These contacts were held at the initiative of M. Gorbachev. H. Pogosyan, a delegate to the USSR Supreme Soviet, briefed ARMENPRES correspondents L. Azroyan and Ch. Balagozyan about the nature of these contacts and the issues debated during them.

[Pogosyan] In fact three such meetings took place to search for mutually acceptable positions, a "golden mean" acceptable to both sides. Our deputies group was proceeding from Gorbachev's tenet that there should be neither victor nor vanquished in the solution of the NKAO problem. However, even from the very first meeting it was felt that the Azerbaijani deputies [words indistinct] were unwilling to find a mutually acceptable solution. Our opponent interlocutors kept putting forward the same demand, claiming that regardless of the constitutional decision of the oblast soviet on self-determination, the NKAO remains within the Azerbaijan structure and that this places Azerbaijan under the obligation to "ensure all the conditions for the socio-economic and cultural development of the oblast as well as the security of the Armenian population." Such assurances at a time when Artsakh [NKAO] is under blockade cannot be interpreted as anything but hypocrisy. How can one promise friendship and security while strangling the people?

The deputies' group of Artsakh proposed its own alternative: That the NKAO relinquish its natural demand for reunification with Armenia and instead demand secession from the Azerbaijan [words indistinct]. Accordingly, the NKAO deputies group is putting forth alternatives based on its own proposals.

The issue of to whose authority the Special Administration Committee is subject, caused major differences among the sides. The Azerbaijan deputies group believes that representatives of Azerbaijan and the NKAO should be included on the Special Administration Committee. Such a solution would mean the direct subjection of the oblast to Azerbaijan and nullify the movement waged by Artsakhians for national self-administration and self-determination.

The other side was happier to discuss the refugee problem, seeing this as an opportunity to evade more pressing problems. The number of refugees from both sides is not insignificant and this in itself is evidence of an enormous human drama. While not trying to minimize the dramatic situation faced by the refugees, we think that the refugee problem cannot be discussed within the framework of an eventual settlement of the NKAO problem. The existence of refugees is the direct result of the prolongation of the crisis situation and a clear reprimand to the central authorities who persistently delayed the solution of the problem and thus exacerbated the antagonism between the two peoples. The refugee problem should be solved independently of an eventual solution of the NKAO problem. Here the two sides agreed that it is necessary to set up a joint commission to deal with all problems emanating from the displacement of tens of thousands of people from their homes. The issue is not merely the provision of housing to the people.

Let me give you an example. The population of Stepanakert has increased by 20% as a result of well-known developments. That means that the authorities must also act energetically to develop socio-economic services.

[ARMENPRES] Comrade Pogosyan, why did the deputies from the NKAO and Azerbaijan not meet at their own initiative and search for mutually acceptable ways to resolve the NKAO problem?

[Pogosyan] It is difficult for me to give an unequivocal reply. I personally believe that there is no need for such meetings because the Azerbaijan deputies group refuses to accept any alternative solution. Azerbaijan will consider no position other than the one described above. You must agree that it is not possible to conduct negotiations under such circumstances.

[ARMENPRES] Why do you think this is?

[Pogosyan] I gather that the Azeri deputies are motivated less by considerations of the prevailing situation in the region than by the need to give in to their Popular Front which virtually runs the republic. Apparently the leadership of the republic has accepted its weakness, backed down before the ringleaders of the Popular Front, and unconditionally endorsed the Front's 10 demands in return for the lifting of blockade on Armenia.

During the USSR Supreme Soviet session M. Gorbachev told the Azerbaijan deputies group that the blockade must be ended immediately. This demand was supported by all members of the Supreme Soviet and it was impossible for them not to comply. Thus the Azerbaijan leadership found it could do nothing else but give in to the Popular Front if it wanted to stay in power.

[ARMENPRES] It is often said that there is no need to sit around a negotiating table.

[Pogosyan] There must be a search for mutually acceptable solutions. No one can disagree with this. The haughty calls for the termination of the negotiations do serious harm to the interests of the two peoples. Such calls are harmful. The peaceful search for solutions has been and remains the best method. Here, in Moscow, a difficult political struggle is being waged to find the best mutually acceptable solution to the NKAO problem. The danger from such extremist and unsubstantiated judgments is obvious; they only serve those whose interests lie in exacerbating the situation in the region.

[ARMENPRES] Comrade Pogosyan, the people of Armenia and the NKAO are interested in knowing what will be presented to the joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet by the commission of the Soviet of Nationalities and by the deputies from Azerbaijan and the NKAO.

(Ninashev), chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, to the NKAO Special Administration Committee, the commandant of the Special District, the NKAO Procuracy, and t the oblast branch of the Committee for State Security . The appeals specifically stress that the Shushi studio broadcasts have as a rule an explicitly anti-Armenian provocative nature which conflicts with the efforts to normalize the interethnic situation in the region. We have also applied to the presidium of the directors of the television-radio committees of the country, which held a meeting in Moscow, calling for journalistic solidarity and asking for assistance for the normalization of the operations of the oblast television, Sogomonyan said. Those who violate the laws, not to mention the basic moral norms, must be called to account. However, only time will show if truth and justice have prevailed.

Aganbegyan Meets Armenian Party, Economic Aktiv

NC2611100489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] The republic's party and economic aktiv met at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters with Abel Aganbegyan, academician, secretary of the Economic Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers.

An interesting conversation developed around the future development of the Soviet economy, improvement in foreign economic ties, elimination of the difficulties in the republic's economy, and the consequences of the earthquake.

Academician Aganbegyan spoke about developing Soviet foreign economic ties and about establishing free trade zones in Armenia and in other regions of the union.

Yerevan-Mashtotsskiy Rayon 1st Secretary Replaced

NC2211131389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 22 Nov 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The Yerevan-Mashtotsskiy Rayon party committee plenum met and discussed organizational matters. The plenum relieved Gegamyan of his responsibilities as first secretary of the rayon party committee in connection with his transfer to other work. The plenum also thanked him for the productive work he carried out as the rayon party committee first secretary.

The plenum then elected Arevshatyan as the first secretary of the rayon party committee. He was elected by secret ballot from a slate of three candidates and is currently the chairman of the executive committee of the Mashtotsskiy Rayon soviet of people's deputies. Asatryan, first secretary of the Yerevan city party committee, took part in the work of the plenum and addressed it.

Armenian National Movement Meeting Viewed

90US0214A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 Nov 89 p 4

[V. Sarkisyan and T. Akopyan report: "Those Attending the Congress Speak"]

[Text] The founding congress of the Armenian National Movement (AOD) has completed its work. A program and charter were adopted for the movement. Like the sharp debates that took place at the congress, they will become another subject for consideration, dispute, and evaluation. But it is already clear that the Artsakh movement, born out of perestroyka and the democratic transformations in our country, has itself become one of the guarantees of the irreversibility of these processes in the republic and a basis for the consolidation of broad strata of the public.

A problem developed at the congress about defining the movement as "national." Uneasiness could be heard in some of the speeches: Does this not signify that the movement lays claim to a monopoly expression of the opinion of the Armenian people, the final arbiter of the truth? No, it was stated at the congress that the definition "national" merely announces the fact that it has other own primary and functional organizations both within the republic and beyond, including the Armenian diaspora abroad.

Opinions differed. Some think that the congress took place in an insufficiently organized manner and that its efficiency was poor, while others are more optimistic.

The impressions of many of our readers who were able to observe the course of the forum on television are similar. Perhaps the roots of these contradictory judgments are to be found in stereotypes. For many years the forums were associated with a precise, irreproachable organization and order. What happened in the hall had to move beyond the generally accepted boundaries. Perhaps also because this was the first congress. Our time is a dynamic one: What are nonstandard, unconventional measures and events become quite ordinary to our perception in just days.

The atmosphere of pluralism is sensed here not only in the hall but also in the lobbies, where the disputes do not really stop. One theme dominated: the future of the national movement and the tasks for the public organizations after the congress. This is what we shall talk about. And now for interviews with several delegates and guests of the congress.

Rafael Kazaryan, corresponding member of the republic Academy of Sciences:

The main task for the congress is to provide a program for its subsequent advance into a democratic future, and trying through that program to unite all progressive, patriotic forces fighting for the republic's sovereignty and for recognition of self-determination for the Artsakh people. In and of itself I regard the congress as a notable historical event. Evidently this is the first time for many decades that we have been able to gather and talk freely about our tasks.

This was the first time that representatives of party organizations and a majority of the informal organizations, and, finally, of the internal diaspora and the diaspora abroad had gathered together. It is in this that I see the great and positive importance of the forum. I hope that this is a very important and decisive step to create the national alliance about which we have dreamed for so long. I would very much like to hope that in the future this step will be continued in a specific way and will really lay the foundation for the unification of all progressive forces of our people, both here in the motherland and abroad, who are fighting for a national revival and for the correction of the historical injustices and crimes that took place.

For various reasons the previous 18 months prevented us from starting any earlier to create the special offshoots of our movement that would address on a professional basis many of the problems of concern to us. We all know that these last 18 months have been filled with the constant, difficult, and unequal struggle against the forces of reaction of various ilks. We have not had an opportunity to collect our thoughts and engage seriously in building or the organizational aspects of these issues. At times everything has occurred spontaneously, and each day has dictated new and quite unexpected tasks, short-term, but tasks nevertheless. The struggle has also been difficult because we have been virtually forced to revive all the democratic methods of struggle that for decades were banned. After many difficulties we have managed to reach an organizational level that we hope will facilitate our further work.

The very fact that the republic leadership attended the congress and that the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, made a speech is a somewhat unusual phenomenon for our country. And in fact his speech was very businesslike and constructive in terms of its content, and it left a strong impression. Not general cliches and phrases but very specific talk about the problems that are of concern to our people. We can only hope that these fine and topical words will be followed by appropriate deeds.

We have been saying for a long time that if we want to be strong and achieve anything substantial, and radical solutions to particular issues, then we must, we are obliged to act as a united front. When there are no contradictions and confrontations between the people and its leadership then obviously this can only be to the advantage of our movement. We need cohesion at all levels.

I was very impressed by the thought expressed by the leader of the republic party organization about tolerance with respect to all sections of the diaspora; that is, readiness to meet the diaspora and cooperate with it. This is a quite new approach. And we should all move this matter ahead.

Akop Karapents, writer (from the United States):

The goal of many Armenian figures of the diaspora has always been the unification of all Armenians regardless of party affiliation and political orientation. The program put forward by the AOD is precisely the kind of platform on which unification is possible.

We have always regarded Soviet Armenia as the land of our forefathers, our homeland, and ultimately the final landing stage to which each Armenian should come.

Now a great deal has changed. We have understood the strength of the historical memory in Armenians, and have been convinced that only Armenia can act as guarantor of the existence and burgeoning of a nation scattered around the world. But as it achieves economic and spiritual progress, Armenia can and must also rely on the political and economic potential of the diaspora. The conditions exist for this. You are aware of the kind of response and understanding that Gorbachev's policy of new thinking has evoked. This response was again reaffirmed when the December tragedy in Armenia found a response throughout the world and in the diaspora.

We wholeheartedly support the idea of a free economic zone and will help in this. The leadership of Soviet Armenia is doing a great deal to strengthen links between the motherland and the diaspora. The AOD should play an active part in this.

The Armenian national movement is still "young." Opinions differ as to the role of the movement in the republic's public life, and about its goals and the methods to achieve them. And this is normal; it is yet another affirmation of the policy of perestroyka. But in no case should we forget that there are forces that would like to push the movement to extremism. It must not succumb to this and it must avoid extreme radicalism and learn democracy and popular power.

Edvin Nuridzhanov, chief editor of the journal SOVETSKAYA BIBLIOGRAFIYA (Moscow):

I venture to say that the congress inspired me. For the first time for a long time the various public trends stated their resolve to unify. We representatives of the internal diaspora have felt more keenly that we are the sons of our motherland.

In my opinion there are still things to work on in the program and charter. They do not take account of the conditions in which the organizations of the movement must operate in those parts of the country where there are Armenian communities (and this is hundreds of thousands of people), and there was some vagueness in

[Pogosyan] This is a question with many unknowns. The report of the commission and the comprehensive and involved debate we hope will take place will show the way. I think no one will disagree that the solution of the NKAO crisis has been exceedingly and unjustifiably delayed. A solution, not the usual half measures, must be found.

Transport Official on Blockade Problems

WA2911200389 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 10 Nov 89 p 4

[Report on interview with Eduard Smbatovich Amiryan, senior legal counsel to the Armenian transport procurator's office, by KOMMUNIST correspondent A. Bagdasaryan: "Who Will Make Compensation for Damages?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The month-long blockade has finally been lifted and the flow of trains held on the territory of Azerbaijan has moved to the stations of destination in Armenia. It would seem that the best thing to do now would be to unload them. But the joy was somewhat overshadowed. When it was standing idle many tons of freight lost its commercial value, and became not "important national economic" freight but material evidence for investigators. The freight cars are standing there on the branch lines to the enterprises throughout the republic, impounded and sealed, dumb witnesses to the barbarity of our neighbors.

So in recent weeks more troubles have been added for workers in the law enforcement agencies. Official document by official document, criminal case by criminal case, a picture is being painted of the tragedy that has taken place on the sidings and crossings of the Azerbaijan railroads.

Of course, in time the amount of harm caused to the the Armenian national economy will be determined and the moral and political roots of the blockade will be revealed. But we think that some results can already be summed up. KOMMUNIST correspondent A. Bagdasaryan met with the transport procurator for Armenia, senior legal counsel E. Amiryan, and asked him to answer some questions.

[Bagdasaryan] Eduard Smbatovich, the information being received in the editorial offices about dispossessed cars is extremely fragmentary and incomplete. It is therefore impossible to form a more or less objective opinion about the state of affairs in railroad transport. Perhaps you can explain what in fact is happening on the railroads.

[Amiryan] I would first of all like to note that deliveries of national economic freight have been normalized and railroad movements are on track and on schedule. Thus, according to the latest summary reports, on 4 November alone, 170 freight cars with construction materials, 144 flatcars loaded with small houses, 200 tank cars loaded with petroleum products, and 8 cars loaded with potatoes moved on the three junctions out of Norashen, Indzhevan, and Sadakhlo into Armenia. The figures are very satisfactory.

But then it is incomprehensible why queues are still forming at the stores for produce, and why the industrial enterprises are in a feverish state. As you are aware, it is a question here of the safekeeping of the cars that have arrived.

Let me cite some examples. On 13 October a shortage of 20 tonnes of gasoline worth a total of R8,000 was found at the Surenavan petroleum base in Ararat city when it was being unloaded under the supervision of an auditing commission. Leather items worth R1,500 were unaccounted for by storekeepers at the No 3 fur warehouse at the Yerevan station. But perhaps the worst thing has been 232 IFA trucks sent as a gift from the GDR for construction workers in the disaster zone. It was a sorry thing to see them when the flatcars arrived at the station of destination. The gaping holes where the windows should have been, the engines removed, the instrument boards ripped out. So that means that 232 drivers working at the construction sites being raised on the ruins of the cities and villages will still remain without trucks. We must also remember that before this deliveries of construction materials into the zone were also being held up. Perhaps this is charity Azeri style?

But what is really astonishing is the impunity with which the unrestrained thugs acted on the railroad sidings. Judge for yourself: On 1 November we found a shortage of 277,000 tonnes of petroleum products alone. It is clear even to the layman that this amount of gasoline cannot be removed on the sly. So where were the law enforcement agencies and the leadership of the Azerbaijan railroad looking? Was the piracy on the railroads carried out with their tacit agreement?

And after this the members of the People's Front of Azerbaijan are trying to call the blockade a political act. It is a fine thing when political action is used to hide violence and robbery.

[Bagdasaryan] Since we are talking about the law enforcement agencies, tell us how mutual relations were shaped during the blockade with your colleagues from the Azerbaijan transport procuracy.

[Amiryan] Long before the blockade, when tension on the railroad started to grow, we made a joint agreement that has to some extent been justified. Since the procurators in the two republics were for understandable reasons unable to travel to the location of incidents in neighboring regions, it was decided to exchange material from investigations. Just recently we have collected and sent to the transport procurator in Azerbaijan material on 17 criminal cases involving thefts of gasoline, and 6 on the dismantling of and damage to houses being sent to the republic for the inhabitants of the stricken regions, and others. But the strange thing is that we have no information on how further investigation is proceeding, or on whether or not those guilty of theft from the cars have been convicted. We have repeatedly sent reports to the Azerbaijan transport procurator. It was the same with the piracy of the trucks from the GDR, and when unknown malefactors cut the main rail line, interrupting movement on a 535-kilometer stretch of the Yeraskh-Belidag route. These reports usually ended with the words "in reporting the above and in order to coordinate our efforts in the matter of providing supervision by the procurator of the safekeeping of freight, I request that steps as provided for by law be taken across the territory and that the results be reported to us." It is noteworthy that in all this time we have not even received a telegram from the neighboring side, let alone answers to our requests. The colleagues from the transport procuracy in Azerbaijan prefer to remain silent.

Under these circumstances we do not know how things are. Everyday dozens of citizens are coming to the procurator's office demanding punishment for the malefactors and to provide information about the course of the investigation. How, for example, can we answer citizen V. Petoyan, who was beaten half to death in Kirovabad and thrown into a freight car being sent to Armenia? I do not think it would be difficult to find and convict the criminals. But as before we remain uninformed. Naturally, in these circumstances the transport procurator in Armenia is powerless to do anything.

Typically in the present situation the leadership of the Azerbaijan transport procuracy is trying in every possible way to create at least a semblance of balance in the level of crime of the two sides of the blockade. Thus, judging from the figures, about the same number of criminal cases have been transferred from Baku to Yerevan and from Yerevan to Baku. However, on closer examination it turns out that whereas we are investigating crimes associated only with instances of hooliganism and theft, the Azeri investigators are having to deal with cases of attempted murder and grievous bodily harm leading to fatalities, and with robbery, larceny, and deliberate damage to state property.

Neither can I ignore the following problem. It is a question of the commercial inspection points at the railroad stations. These services operate on all railroad lines in the country. Their duties include the safekeeping of freight and informing the law enforcement organs promptly about thefts. With their help it is easy to determine where specifically a crime has occurred. In Armenia these inspection points operate at the Sanain, Masis, Indzhevan, and Yerevan stations. So, for some time the commercial inspection of trains being dispatched into Armenia has been suspended in Azerbaijan.

Thus, all the criminal cases that we have opened with respect to instances of theft and damage of freight are losing their basis. We cannot know the exact location of the incident. Lack of the matching common documents drawn up by the commercial points is involving our investigators in an enormous amount of painstaking work to find evidence. Taking advantage of the fact that they can act with impunity, the unrestrained criminals are increasing the scope of their thefts and numerous trains are arriving in Armenia with massive amounts of commercial and technical spoilage.

[Bagdasaryan] Eduard Smbatovich, many people in Armenia are now concerned about the question of compensation for damages and who will pay for the losses. Can you as a lawyer and specialist in this field indicate any solution to the situation that has been created?

[Amiryan] Well, first it must be said that the USSR Supreme Soviet has already taken up this issue. And we hope that the deputies will adopt a decision on compensation for Armenia for the losses caused by the blockade. For my part, I would like to propose the following. Since the criminal cases concerning thefts of freight passed to the investigating organs in Azerbaijan will hardly be finally solved there and the thieves exposed, I urgently recommend that in accordance with the provisions of the charter for the railroads that economic leaders be recompensed for damages through the arbitration bodies. I think that in this case this will be the best solution. The law is the law. And we must try to insure that it is realized.

NKAO TV Stops Broadcasting Over Shushi Dispute

NC2411203389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The television reporters are protesting. Why? They say the more one eats the more one's appetite increases. To be convinced of this yet again, it is enough to see what has been going on at the so-called television studio of Shushi. For the last 3 months, this television studio (?has been using) as much air time as it likes. One must give the appropriate reply to that illegally born organism which, like all pirates, is able to resist double or even triple (?overload). (?Judge for yourselves.) The Shushi people, taking advantage of the fact that there is a relay station in their city, were (?taking over) the oblast television relay station for 50 or more minutes during the final news, instead of the 12 minutes allocated to them through an unwritten agreement. By this act they are leaving very little time for the people of Stepanakert. What's more, they are often not averse to (?distorting the quality of the transmissions) during the time allocated to Armenian broadcasts. Thus, they have intentionally been attempting to block the airwaves. This has engendered a justified indignation on the part of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] television audience. However, these colleagues who have recently appeared have apparently forgotten that all patience has its limit. [passage indistinct]

Grigor Sogomonyan, chairman of the NKAO Television and Radio Broadcast Committee, told an ARMENPRES corrspondent that during the 22 November meeting of the collective of NKAO radio and television reporters, it was unanimously decided temporarily to stop broadcasting the television programs of the oblast until radical measures have been adopted to establish law and order in the air waves. Relevant appeals have been sent to the declared desire for interaction and cooperation with the common democratic movement in the country. For we must first and foremost work jointly with it.

We must not forget that perestroyka processes have been stirred up throughout the country, and we cannot resolve our problems in isolation. For our national movement is evoking sympathy and understanding among progressively thinking people in many of the republics.

Violence During 7 Nov Yerevan Protest Reported

WA2911200289 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 10 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "In the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] On the morning of 7 November members of the so-called "Union for Nationality Self-Determination" organized an unauthorized demonstration on the streets of Yerevan, in which a large group of teenagers and young people were involved. Grossly violating public order and committing acts of hooliganism and assaulting citizens, they tried to tear down the holiday flags from administrative buildings and houses. There were instances of breaking into citizens' apartments and demanding that flags be brought down. In response to the steps taken by the militia to restore order, hooligan elements resorted to aggressive unlawful actions, and as a result several Ministry of Internal Affairs workers sustained bodily injuries.

Public order was restored by the steps taken.

The organizers of the unlawful actions, aware that they were breaking the law, deliberately urged teenagers to engage in acts of hooliganism.

The law enforcement organs took steps to detain the hooligans and those instigating them in order to institute proceedings against them.

Deeming these facts to be totally impermissible and unlawful, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] draws the attention of the leaders of labor collectives, educational institutions, and public institutions, and also the parents of children who become involved in various kinds of unlawful acts, to the fact that they are directly responsible for the violations of the law and crimes committed.

It is our common duty to protect teenagers and young people against any violation of public order that is to the detriment of people's normal activities.

Vorkuta Mine on 'Brink of Collapse'

PM2911172889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 First Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent G. Sazonov report: "...Yet the Mine Is on the Brink of Collapse"]

[Text] Vorkuta, 29 Nov—The 10 days allowed by the strike committee at the "Vorgashorskaya" mine have elapsed. The government documents have been received. But there was no question of going down into the pit. However, yesterday, for the first time in more than a month of inactivity and idleness, a directive from P. Yermakov, the mine's director, was circulated round the assignment offices. In it, he instructed chiefs of sectors, shops, and services to hold working meetings within 2 days, with the participation of the trade unions, and to discuss the question of ending the strike, commencing work, and explaining to the members of labor collectives, the director stressed, that the continuation of the strike will lead to the economic collapse of the mine.

Many people understand that. But not the representatives of the strike committee, who have "gotten the bit between their teeth." They are continuing to whip up the atmosphere—organizing virtually continual rallies. For instance, a talk-in in the mine's assembly hall lasted 6 hours. The strikers adopted a resolution. In it they accused the government of not fulfilling its commitments, and for the umpteenth time expressed a lack of confidence in it. There is also a point on granting the mine full autonomy and on its leaving the "Vorkutaugol" Association.

Various guests, mainly from Moscow, are continuing to address the workers.

In the documents adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which have arrived in Vorkuta, the majority of questions raised by the miners were authorized, including the question of the status of the strike committees. It is proposed that their members join a state and social commission which will be set up to monitor the course of fulfillment of government resolutions on concessions to the miners.

So as you can see, there has been some progress. But the strikers at the "Vorgashorskaya" reject it out of hand, calling for the strike to continue until 12 December—the start of work of the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. They want to raise their demands on the Congress platform, through the regional group.

The mine party committee is preparing for a meeting at which every Communist must define his position on these events.

Vorgashorskaya Miners Hold Strike Meeting

LD2911213889 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Republic, November 29 TASS—The communists working at the Vorgashorskaya Colliery, whose workers are continuing on strike, held a general meeting on Wednesday afternoon.

They called upon all members of the work collective of this largest mine in the Pechora coal basin, to resume work. Later in the day, all the miners at the Vorgashorskaya took part in a secret ballot to decide the issue.

The Vorkuta miners were reported to have been expeditiously supplied with copies of the documents formulating the decisions taken at the November 17 meeting between Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and other government members and representatives of the miners' work collectives.

Many miners expressed dissatisfaction with these documents. For instance, they pointed out that the resolution of the Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions on more privileges to the workers in the mining industry was driving a wedge between the miners and other workers in the country's regions listed in the resolution.

A conference of strike committees and representatives of collieries and other enterprises and organisations of Vorkuta was held on Tuesday night.

The conference decided to submit for discussion by work collectives of this arctic city a resolution containing several variants of what the miners should do further.

The Vorkuta workers will discuss all the variants and select one of them to let the miners act with account taken of the public opinion. The conference decisions are being widely discussed in the city.

The Vorkutaugol (Coal) Association's debts have grown unprecedentedly as a result of miners' autumn strike and the continuing stoppage at the Vorgashorskaya mine.

In November alone, Vorkuta miners failed to deliver the planned 855,000 tonnes of coal, the total arrears amount to nearly 900,000 tonnes.

Vorkuta Strike Situation Discussed

904F0017A Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by O. Sagach, member of strike committee, breakage miner at Zapolyarnaya mine, Vorkuta: "Director of Another Choir"]

[Text] Vladimir Alekseyevich Ivanov is a secretary of the People's Front of Russia, a deputy director for science of the All-Union Center for Translating Scientific-Technical Literature, a candidate of technical sciences... This is exactly how he introduced himself at a meeting with the workers of Vorgashorskaya mine.

Ivanov began his conversation at Vorgashorskaya mine by criticizing anything and everything. However, he paid special attention to his learned brethren whose heads, as he put it, "simply do not work."

However, what the deputy director for science said and the concepts he expounded are much more important than how he said it. Here is his view of the regularities of social development: "Life does not develop regularly but rather by chance. The chance depends on our actions...." Here is an evaluation of, say, fascism: "How is it different from communism? It is slightly better...." His attitude toward Lenin is "extremely negative... after all, he was not alone... there was an entire mafia."

A man who calls himself a party member and the CPSU an anti-Soviet organization poured out all this nonsense before the miners. This is how he replied when he was asked "Why do you carry a party membership card then?": "I want to overcome the crisis in the party." Just like that. Hang on, the party!

However, he came to Vorkuta in pursuit of different goals. Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the republic and local soviets are drawing closer. Ivanov very much wants the miners of Vorkuta to support the candidates of the People's Front of Russia, including him personally. Vladimir Alekseyevich has another dream as well—to reinforce the People's Front of Russia because people do not remain long in it. He stated that "we want to organize our cells here" and even allowed the miners to find their leaders themselves. However, he immediately poured cold water on them: It turns out that there already is a leader, a member of the city strike committee S. Mosalovich whom Ivanov was grooming for the secretary. Just so that it would not occur to the workers to show their initiative in the course of electing the director of Vorgashorskaya mine he recommended for this position I. Guridov, the chairman of the strike committee at the mine, having admitted in the process that "we (!?) like him very much."

However, this weighty argument did not convince anyone. The workers decided that organizing a strike is one thing and managing the enterprise is quite another. This is why they elected to be the director a person who, to their mind, is more appropriate. Even the promises of Ivanov to intercede with cooperative members concerning a computer for the miners added no weight to his recommendation.

Still, the visit to Vorkuta was not useless for Vladimir Alekseyevich. Some of the workers started wearing the pins of the People's Front of Russia on their chests after that. Having secured the support of the visitor from Moscow and the People's Front of Russia itself, the city strike committee expanded political demands to 14 points without even consulting with our strike committee. This is why the collective of Vorgashorskaya mine did not support the appeal of the the city strike committee to go on striking. We are working. On 3 November, we fulfilled the annual plan for mining and selling coal. However, we support all economic demands made on the government and believe that they are being met very slowly. Officials from the Ministry of the Coal Industry and various departments who have delayed information on the course of fulfilling resolution No 608 of the Council of Ministers should be penalized because the aggravation of the situation at the Vorkutaugol Association is their fault.

As far as the political demands are concerned, which Ivanov liked very much, the government has nothing to do with them. They may be decided only by the USSR Supreme Soviet, congresses of people's deputies, and the CPSU. So, do we have to strike now for another year, until the 28th Congress of the party?

Actually, it looks like Ivanov would like this very much. There was a reason why he went out of his way complimenting the miners who were on strike at the time.

So, this is it: He rubbed shoulders with the miners for several days and immediately became one of ours through and through. However, if we are to call a spade a spade, he became an outspoken instigator. The question arises: What does he need from us, from the miners? Our votes in the next election? Members for his front? What else? Why is he rocking the boat in which we are sailing, not too stable to begin with, shouting at the top of his lungs?

Ivanov will not go down to the mine with us to produce coal. He could not care less about the interests of miners. After all, he has not previously paid attention to the interests of our people. All of these representatives of this or that front who have recently frequented Vorkuta, and the patron-cooperative members following them, are only exploiting our strike, someone else's woes. They persistently foist their advice on us and are prepared to count the entire working class among their friends if only support is given to them in their struggle for power, even if it is necessary "to fight to the death" to this end.

During the first strike in summer, the miners tossed these "fighters" out of their collectives. Now they are coming again and are latching on to the strike movement. No sooner had Ivanov departed Vorkuta than representatives of the Union of Associated Cooperatives appeared on the horizon and hurried to the same Vorgashorskaya mine, the largest in our region. Could it be that they brought the computer promised by Ivanov? Or will they just offer the usual inflammatory speeches?

However, correct ideas did slip through in the speech by Ivanov at Vorgashorskaya mine. For example, this idea: "There have been constant provocations—be vigilant! After all, someone may come to speak for the Front of Russia and may talk nonsense...."

By hitting the nail on the head, Vladimir Alekseyevich did himself in. Here is the last of his pronouncements: "If someone comes to you and says: Do it this way only—do not trust him. You have got to think every time."

This is absolutely correct. The miners have to make up their own mind.

Editorial Note. Messages arriving at the editorial office show that not only the representatives of the People's Front of Russia show interest in the strike of Vorkuta miners going on as long as possible. The USSR Union of Associated Cooperatives has signed "The Socialist Cooperation Contract" with the Vorkuta city strike committee in which, among other things, the union "undertakes to consider the issue of allocating funds for supporting the just struggle of miners in Vorkuta and other areas of our country for their rights." However, the very next point of this contract shows that the rights of miners are not the only, and more precisely, not the foremost, point at issue: "The committee and the union support the platform of the Inter-Regional Group of Deputies and facilitate in every way the nomination of candidate people's deputies in okrugs and wards, conduct agitation among the populace during the election campaign, and aid the progressively minded representatives of miners and cooperatives in the elections. The union allots to the committee a page in an all-union newspaper for publishing any materials associated with the struggle by strike committees and miners for their rights, and to the extent possible supplies the committee with copying, communications, and computer equipment."

It appears that the union will fully recoup all expenditures for helping miners because, along with everything else, it also intends to not only provide foreign trade consultations but also render services for selling above-the-plan coal in the foreign market, importing on contract the goods necessary for miners for hard currency, and other material assets at their request.

Vice President of the Union of Associated Cooperatives A. Tarasov who signed this contract and the president himself, Academy member V. Tikhonov, arrived in Vorkuta in recent days. They came for political rather than "foreign trade" consultations. Speaking at the workers' meeting of the collective of Vorgashorskaya mine the leaders of the union noted that "the strikers are wasting their time for demands other than those which should now be made on the government organs...."

USSR People's Deputy V. Tikhonov called futile the hopes of the workers to get something of essence from the state and the Ministry of the Coal Industry and voiced his doubts that the USSR Supreme Soviet will be able to solve something: "You are on strike whereas the Supreme Soviet is discussing its agenda. Nobody cares about you...."

The tactlessness of the academy member with regard to other people's deputies is not the only issue, nor is even the attempt to once again portray the Inter-Regional Group as the one which wants and is able to help the miners and generally overcome the economic crisis in the country. After all, such forms of parliamentary struggle are, perhaps, also possible given our failure to attain a certain level of culture and democracy. The issue is different: Should the situation be heated up to the critical point for the purpose of struggling for power? Won't these efforts create a situation which all miners are familiar with: When the concentration of methane in the stope exceeds the necessary level one spark is all it takes for a fatal explosion? Just one spark!

This is why the words of the Vorkuta miner O. Sagach appear to be wise and the only correct ones: The miners should make up their own mind. They know better than any advisers how to act in an explosive situation.

Direct Line for Miners

A special direct phone line for those working in the mines of the country is beginning to operate at the editorial office of the newspaper TRUD. The number is 299-49-06. All questions on meeting the demands of strike participants covered by the agreements between the strike committees and the government commissions may be asked at this number between 1000 and 1200 (Moscow time). Answers will be provided by ranking functionaries of the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry in the pages of the newspaper TRUD.

Ukrainian Church Expects Early Legalization

AU3011090389 Paris AFP in English 0728 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 30 (AFP)—Mikhail Gorbachev's historic visit to the Vatican Friday is certain to produce an early legalisation of the Ukrainian church, whose five million faithful are already mobilising, Ukrainian and Soviet sources say.

Freedom of worship is to be restored to the Ukrainian Catholics in forthcoming legislation which recognises the equality of all religions in the Soviet Union, according to Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin.

But the Russian Orthodox Church is fighting tooth and nail to hold onto the property and wealth confiscated from the Ukrainian church when it was forcibly integrated into the Orthodox Church under Stalin in 1946.

The legalisation is a key issue in Soviet relations with the Vatican, as the pope has refused to make a pastoral visit to the Soviet Union unless he can visit his faithful in the Ukraine, in addition to the large Roman Catholic communities in Lithuania and Belorussia.

On the eve of Mr. Gorbachev's arrival in Rome ahead of Friday's first meeting between the pope and a Soviet leader, an Orthodox Church leader met with Pope John Paul II after explaining to journalists that his church would not negotiate with the Vatican "under the muzzle of a gun".

The Orthodox authorities last week suspended scheduled negotiations on restoring the Ukrainian church's possessions due to the October 29 "seizure" of Transfiguration Church in Lvov, western Ukraine.

Contacted in Lvov, where tens of thousands of people demonstrated on Sunday to demand the Ukrainian church's legalisation, Ukrainian nationalist Bogdan Goryn said that Transfiguration Church was taken over "peacefully" by the Catholics, who staged a sit-in there. He explained that one of the church's three priests had decided to change to the Catholic Church, provoking a protest from the other two, who had transferred to other Orthodox churches.

The Ukrainian church, known by its pejorative Stalinist title of Uniate, has allegiance to the Vatican but performs Eastern, or Orthodox, rites.

According to the Soviet weekly MOSCOW NEWS over 2,000 churches have been given back to the church in the past year, under Mr. Gorbachev's liberalistion policies aimed at drawing support from Soviet believers for his reforms known as perestroyka.

But the churches, often turned into libraries and museums or closed by previous regimes, were handed over to the Orthodox Church, which now faces losing almost half of its total 5,000 churches to the Uniates.

Mr. Goryn said that about 30 churches in Lvov had reverted to the Catholic Church amid the campaign by believers in the region, which has intensified in recent months.

"Some orthodox priests have joined the Greco-Uniate church, and the process is continuing," Mr. Goryn said, adding that relations between the Catholic and Orthodox churches were currently "strained".

Nevertheless, in an interview with the Italian press in Rome, the exiled Ukrainian church leader, Cardinal Ivan Lubachivskiy, has expressed confidence that Mr. Gorbachev's historic meeting with Pope John Paul II will put an end to "43 years of clandestinity".

Religious sources here say that Mr. Gorbachev has already decided to "throw his lot in with the pope" and ignore the Orthodox Church, whose KGB-installed hierarchy has not undergone the same perestroyka as government circles.

Mr. Gorbachev had last summer yielded to the Orthodox hierarchy, who had sought dismissal of the government's religious representative, Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Soviet Religious Affairs Council.

Consequently, he was in a position to expect concessions from the Orthodox Church at this point, the religious sources argued.

The Orthodox Church's official responsible for religious affairs, the Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk, was meanwhile last week replaced by the Metropolitan of Smolensk, seen as less hardline.

Ukrainian Officials on Police Use of Force

90UN0343A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 5 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Ukrainian SSR Deputy Public Prosecutor Stepan Khomych Lytvynchuk and Ukrainian SSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs M. M. Burlakov, by

A. Kraslyanskyy: "Mass Meetings and the Law: A State Governed by Rule of Law Constitutes Democracy Plus Order"]

[Text] **Kiev, 22 October, in the square by the Central Republic Stadium. For more than 4 hours passions boiled around a discussion of what would seem to be quite "peaceful," to a certain degree even theoretical problems—what the Ukrainian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic] laws on elections and language should be.**

The question of who had the greatest interest in pulling the discussion out of a calm, constructive channel and in whipping up hysteria has been discussed in the press. But there was an additional element in evidence at this mass meeting: certain persons at this gathering, which numbered in the thousands, used the microphone in order to openly and repeatedly incite the crowd against the people of the law enforcement agencies, accusing them of exceeding their authority, of unwarranted arrests, of intensified acts of repression, and even hinted that law enforcement officials were practically organizing political assassinations. Inasmuch as what were allegedly specific facts and names were cited in order to bolster these claims, we asked Deputy Public Prosecutor S. Kh. Lytvynchuk and Ukrainian SSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs M. M. Burlakov to clarify these issues and to present their views on the role and tasks of militia personnel during the holding of mass meetings and demonstrations.

* * *

[Burlakov] Claims that law enforcement agencies have recently stepped up repressive actions against participants in mass meetings are untrue. I would even go so far as to say that internal affairs officials sometimes even lack resoluteness about imposing civil order during unauthorized mass meetings and demonstrations. A total of 724 mass events took place in this republic in the first 9 months of this year; 338 of these were not authorized. And almost half of the 125 such events which took place in the first 20 days of October were held without authorization by the local soviet executive committees, that is, in violation of the law.

And the fact is that those who themselves are consciously and deliberately violating laws are screaming the loudest about repressive actions.

[Lytvynchuk] I agree that in some of this republic's oblasts law enforcement agencies are being excessively lenient and indecisive in those instances when it is necessary, as they say, to apply authority. Laws are to be obeyed, and violators of the law should be duly punished. Otherwise there will be no order, democracy, or genuine respect for the law in this country, which would be contrary to the interests of the state and the people.

All this is obvious. If a mass meeting has not been authorized, it should not be held. Incidentally, in the West, the practices of which some of these noisy mass-meeting activists so like to make reference, nobody would dare hold a public gathering without a permit, because this would result in heavy fines, severe administrative or criminal penalties. And believe me, in the West they are plenty tough with violators of civil order. I don't want anybody to get the idea that I am speaking as an advocate for the police, but I cannot remain silent about that which I see with my own eyes: it is not the police who are at fault, but rather the extremist groups taking part in mass meetings, who provoke and insult police officers, resort to violent actions, and sometimes outright attack persons in police uniform.

The police exist for the purpose of protecting civil order and people's tranquility. And when law and order are violated even by isolated elements, the law must be brought to bear.

[Kraslyanskyy] Since we have already mentioned specific instances, let us consider a situation where a mass meeting has been permitted—that is, authorized by the authorities. What kinds of violations are we talking about in these cases and how do the police act in these instances?

[Burlakov] We shall not go delving into the distant past. Let us return to that mass meeting which took place on 22 October at Kiev's Central Stadium. What was the most striking thing that one noticed? From the very outset the topic of discussion went in a quite different direction from what had been announced by the organizers—a discussion of draft laws on elections to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and local governmental bodies, as well as the draft Law on Languages. This was a serious violation, for which the organizers of the mass meeting should bear responsibility. Both the leaders of the unofficial organizations ["informal associations"] and representatives of the authorities were obligated to ensure that things kept to the topic which had been declared in advance. Nobody did this, however. What the speakers shouted into the microphones were appeals to picket the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet as it held session, as well as insults directed against party and Soviet leaders and, incidentally, anybody who failed to share the extremists' view. And here is one more item. As we know, the edict pertaining to the manner and procedure of holding mass meetings and demonstrations clearly states that the formal request to hold a mass meeting must indicate not only the topic of discussion but also the site of the activity, route, time of beginning and end of the gathering, number of participants, and the names of the organizers.

[Lytvynchuk] I would like to stress that the manner and procedure of holding mass meetings and demonstrations as specified by our law is fully in conformity with international practices, including the matter of ensuring civil order.

To put it into simple terms, such a procedure is quite essential, for how otherwise would it be possible to secure the interests of those taking part in mass meetings, of other citizens, and of the state as a whole?

It is quite obvious that failure to adhere to the established rules and regulations can lead to uncontrolled situations endangering the health and even lives of citizens.

And how do participants in mass meetings frequently conduct themselves? It is readily apparent that certain speakers, as well as others, are attempting to inflame unhealthy passions. From time to time I have noticed certain young men openly calling on people to refuse to obey legitimate orders by the police, as well as spreading outright slander against police officers and officials, and generating in the surrounding throng an atmosphere of hostility and chaos. Can this be to the benefit of democracy and order?

[Kraslyanskyy] At this mass meeting, appeals were made to honor the memory of Rukh activists who had allegedly died at the hands of law enforcement agencies, with the claim that the blood of freedom fighters had already been shed. In particular, the names Levytskyy and Sotnikov were stated. What do you have to say on this score?

[Burlakov] It is hardly likely to be mere happenstance. It is more probably an open attempt to make citizens distrustful of law enforcement agencies.

Roman Levytskyy, a member of Rukh from Ivano-Frankovsk, was brought to the hospital with a diagnosis of skull and brain injury, from which he died. The following day the police arrested a group of teenagers who had committed this crime. What had happened was brought out in a consistent and precise manner in the course of the investigation. The story of this crime is fairly typical. Several youths, who were in a highly inebriated state, decided to cruise the streets a bit. They encountered Levytskyy at a bus stop, attacked and beat him severely. The instigator of this crime was arrested. I shall not give his name, because the case has not yet been brought to trial.

[Kraslyanskyy] Stepan Khomych, from the standpoint of an official with the republic prosecutor's office, an agency which oversees adherence to the law, do the circumstances of the crime proper and conduct of the investigation not give rise to any doubts on your part?

[Lytvynchuk] The facts and circumstances of the crime have been fully clarified, and witnesses to the crime have been found. There is no question about it: it was a tragic chance occurrence, and no more. Incidentally, law enforcement officials in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast promptly and objectively presented the facts and circumstances of the Levytskyy killing via the mass media. I believe that these facts are also known by those who are attempting to turn this story into some kind of political generalizations and to use it to inflame unhealthy passions. A question arises: in whose interests, for what purpose is this being done?

I must note that willful dissemination of patently unsubstantiated rumors also constitutes a punishable violation of the law. Let this be a warning to those who are making such statements.

As for the death of Sotnikov, deputy chairman of the Donbass Miners Strike Committee—who, incidentally, lived and worked in Rostov Oblast—I can only repeat that which has been reported time and again in the central press. The tragedy took place in the village of Zverevo, in Rostov Oblast, where Sotnikov had gone with members of his production team [brigada] for the purpose of congratulating a comrade on his marriage.

The investigation is being handled by the Rostov Oblast public prosecutor's office and is being conducted under the supervision of the USSR Prosecutor General and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

As has already been reported, approximately 150 police and prosecutor's office personnel are currently working on this case.

[Kraslyanskyy] Since the matter of complaints leveled against law enforcement agencies by speakers at mass meetings, especially pertaining to charges of violence, has been brought up, I would also like to hear your views on the events which took place in Lvov on 1 October.

[Lytvynchuk] A great deal has been written in the newspapers about the events in Lvov, and requisite explanations in this regard were presented by Republic First Deputy Public Prosecutor M. O. Potebenko before the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

An inquiry is being conducted by a USSR Supreme Soviet commission, the preliminary conclusions of which indicate that law enforcement agencies acted reasonably and lawfully. In my opinion the extremists are totally to blame for the incident in question. Lvov police officials appealed to them on nine separate occasions that evening, requesting that they disperse and suggesting that a discussion be held on all issues, but nobody heeded their appeals. Incidentally, subsequent investigation has established that Myroslav Revt, who allegedly went to gain the crowd's release, was himself part of the mob which mounted the assault on local MVD headquarters.

A criminal charge or, more precisely, criminal charges have been brought, for acts of hooliganism, for malicious resistance to police personnel, as well as for desecration of national flags. As for the bodily injuries inflicted both by civilians and police personnel, the inquiry will reach final conclusions in due course.

[Burlakov] I would like to repeat a well-known phrase: democracy does not mean total license. Democracy demands civilized dialogue, patience, and respect for the opinions of one's opponent. We must learn to discuss and debate, as well as to act as intelligent, civilized individuals even in heated discussion. If we learn all this, I am confident that there will be no complaints either against persons taking part in mass meetings or against law enforcement authorities. But let nobody count on us being passive, or indifferent, for we shall continue to employ all our capabilities to put a stop to lawlessness in order to ensure civil order and the safety of the public. This is our obligation, and it is our job.

Ukrainian SSR Designates Electoral Okrugs

90UN0335A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 4 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] The first session of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of People's Deputies in the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was held on 3 November.

Addressing the session, V.F. Boyko, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, observed that the elections of UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies would be conducted on a new legal basis and would be an important step forward in implementation of political reform and the democratization of the social life of the republic. He dwelt on the main directions of the activity of the Central Electoral Commission, the tasks which it has to accomplish and the particular features of the preparation and implementation of election activities in connection with the enactment of the UkSSR law, "Elections of UkSSR People's Deputies".

It was emphasized at the session that the election campaign should at all stages thereof be conducted openly and on a broad democratic basis and provide for the electorate's fullest expression.

In accordance with the election law, the Central Electoral Commission has formed 450 electoral okrugs for the election of UkSSR people's deputies. The decree of the Central Electoral Commission and the list of okrugs are published in the press.

A calendar plan of basic activities pertaining to the preparation and holding of the elections of UkSSR people's deputies and also the plan of work of the Central Electoral Commission for November 1989 were confirmed.

A decision was adopted on the publication in a mass edition of the UkSSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of UkSSR People's Deputies.

A number of other questions connected with the preparations for the elections was examined.

The session of the Central Electoral Commission was addressed by N.G. Khomenko, secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The address of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of UkSSR People's Deputies is 3, Ulitsa Sadovaya, Kiev 8, UkSSR. Tel: 228-24-72, 228-16-04.

Changes to Ukrainian Constitution Published

90UN0274A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Law of the Ukrainian SSR: "Changes and Additions to the Ukrainian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) Constitution (Basic Law)"]

[Text] For the purpose of the development of socialist democracy, the people's self-management and improvement of the election system, the structure and activity of the soviets of people's deputies and the justice authorities and in accordance with the USSR Law "Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)" the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet decrees:

I. The following changes and additions to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution:

1. Section 9 to read as follows:

Section 9. System and Principles of the Activity of Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 78. The soviets of people's deputies—the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies—oblast, rayon, city, city rayon, community and rural—constitute a single system of representative bodies of state power of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 79. The term of the authority of the soviets of people's deputies is 5 years.

The elections of people's deputies are appointed no later than 4 months prior to the expiry of the term of authority of the corresponding soviets.

Article 80. Most important issues of republic and local significance are decided at sessions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies or put by them to referenda.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies elect the soviet chairmen. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the oblast, rayon, city (excluding cities of rayon jurisdiction) and city rayon soviets of people's deputies form their own presidiums. The soviets of people's deputies form standing commissions and create the executive and administrative and also other bodies accountable to them.

Officials elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies, except for judges, cannot hold office for more than two terms in succession.

Any official may be dismissed his office ahead of time in the event of his unsuitable performance of his official duties.

Article 81. The soviets of people's deputies form people's control authorities combining state control with the public control of the working people at the enterprises and in establishments and organizations.

The people's control authorities verify compliance with the requirements of legislation and state programs and assignments; combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of local preference, a departmental approach and lax management and extravagance, red tape and bureaucratism; coordinate the work of other control bodies; contribute to improvement of the structure and work of the machinery of state.

Article 82. The soviets of people's deputies lead directly and via the bodies which they create all sectors of state, economic, social and cultural building, adopt decisions, ensure their fulfillment and exercise supervision of the practical implementation of decisions.

Article 83. The activity of the soviets of people's deputies is constructed on the basis of the collective, free and businesslike discussion and solution of questions, glasnost, the regular accountability of the executive and administrative authorities and other bodies created by the soviets to them and the public and the extensive enlistment of the citizens in participation in their work.

The soviets of people's deputies and the bodies which they create take account of public opinion, submit for the citizens' discussion most important questions of statewide and local significance and systematically notify the citizens of their work and adopted decisions.

2. Section 10 to read as follows:

Section 10. The Electoral System

Article 84. The elections of people's deputies will be held by single-seat or multi-seat electoral okrug on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Article 85. The elections of people's deputies are universal: Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who have attained to 18 years of age have the right to elect and be elected.

A citizen of the Ukrainian SSR may not simultaneously be a people's deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies.

Persons who are members of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, except for the chairman of these bodies, leaders of departments, sections and administrations of the executive committees of local soviets, judges and state arbiters may not be deputies in the soviet by which they are appointed or elected.

Mentally ill citizens deemed incompetent by the court, persons held in places of confinement and also persons in places of compulsory treatment at the decision of the court may not participate in elections.

Article 86. The elections of people's soviets are equal: Each voter has one vote; the voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

Article 87. The elections of people's deputies are direct: The people's deputies are elected by the citizens directly.

Article 88. The voting at the elections of people's deputies is secret: Control of the voters' will is not allowed.

Article 89. The right to nominate candidates for people's deputy belongs to the labor outfits, public organizations, vocational-technical, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions and meetings of voters at the place of residence and servicemen by military unit.

Each participant in the election campaign may propose for discussion any candidacies, including his own.

The ballot papers may include any number of candidates.

Candidates for deputy participate in the election campaign on an equal footing.

Expenditure connected with the preparation and holding of elections of people's deputies is borne by election commissions from a common centralized fund formed from state resources and the resources of enterprises and public and other organizations for the purpose of ensuring equal conditions for each candidate for people's deputy.

Article 90. Preparations for the elections for people's deputy are implemented openly and publicly.

Elections are organized by the election commissions, which are formed from representatives of the labor outfit, public organizations, the staff of vocational-technical, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, meetings of voters at the place of residence and servicemen by military unit.

Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, the labor outfit and public organizations are guaranteed an opportunity for free and comprehensive discussion of the political, professional and personal qualities of the candidates for people's deputy and also the right to agitate for or against a candidate at meetings, in the press and on television and radio.

The procedure of the holding of elections of people's deputies is determined by laws of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 91. The electorate gives its deputies instructions.

The pertinent soviets of people's deputies examine the instructions, take them into consideration at the time of elaboration of the plans of economic and social development and compilation of the budget and also in the preparation of decisions on other matters, organize the fulfillment of the instructions and notify the citizens of their realization.

3. Section 12 to read as follows:

Section 12. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet

Article 97. The highest organ of state power of the Ukrainian SSR is the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is empowered to examine and decide any question pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian SSR.

To the exclusive jurisdiction of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet pertain:

1) adoption of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and changes thereto;

2) adoption of decisions on matters of the republic's national-state arrangement;

3) the solution of questions connected with a change in the Ukrainian SSR's borders with other union republics; examination of questions concerning definition of the USSR state border in instances entailing a change in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR;

4) participation in determination of the basic directions of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy;

5) formation of the basic directions of the domestic policy and foreign policy activity of the Ukrainian SSR;

6) ratification of forward state plans and most important republic programs of economic, social and national-cultural development; ratification of state plans of the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR budget and exercise of control of the course of fulfillment of the plan and budget; ratification of the account of their fulfillment; if necessary, the insertion of changes to the plan and budget;

7) appointment of elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and confirmation of the composition of the Central Election Commission for the election of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR; appointment of elections of deputies of local soviets of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR;

8) election of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and first deputy and deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;

9) appointment of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and, per his submission, confirmation of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the insertion of changes thereto; per the submission of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the formation and liquidation of ministries of the Ukrainian SSR and state committees of the Ukrainian SSR;

10) election of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court and judges of oblast courts and the Kiev Municipal Court; appointment of the chief state arbiter of the Ukrainian SSR; confirmation of the Ukrainian SSR State Full Court of Arbitration;

11) election of the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee;

12) the regular hearing of accounts from the bodies they form or elect and also the officials they appoint or elect;

13) exercise of legislative regulation of ownership relations, organization of control of the national economy and social and cultural building, S&T progress, the budget and finance system, remuneration and pricing, taxation, environmental protection, use and reproduction of the republic's natural resources and other relations;

14) solution of questions of the use of the republic's territory and natural resources and the safeguarding of environmental safety; ratification of environmental protection programs;

15) legislative regulation of Ukrainian SSR citizenship relations;

16) examination of questions connected with the safeguarding of Ukrainian SSR citizens' constitutional rights, liberties and obligations;

17) examination of questions of the guaranteed equality of the citizens of all nationalities residing on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR in combination with the common interests and requirements of a multinational state;

18) adoption of decisions on a nationwide ballot (referendum) in the Ukrainian SSR;

19) interpretation of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and Ukrainian SSR laws;

20) determination of the procedure of the solution of questions of the administrative-territorial arrangement of the Ukrainian SSR; the formation and liquidation of oblasts, rayons and city rayons; the determination and change of borders of oblasts and cities; attribution to city category of localities; naming and renaming of cities, rayons and city rayons;

21) determination of the procedure of the organization and activity of republic and local organs of state power and administration, the court and the court of arbitration; determination of the general legal principles of the formation and the activity of public organizations in the Ukrainian SSR;

22) the direction of the activity of the local soviets of people's deputies;

23) determination of the revenue going to form the Ukrainian SSR budget;

24) solution of questions concerning the opening of diplomatic representations, consulates, international organization offices and trade representations of the Ukrainian SSR;

25) ratification and denunciation of international treaties of the Ukrainian SSR;

26) exercise of supervision of the granting by the Ukrainian SSR of loans and economic and other assistance to foreign states and also of the conclusion of agreements concerning state loans and credit obtained from foreign sources;

27) establishment of honorary insignia of the Ukrainian SSR and the institution of other state awards;

28) promulgation of republic enactments concerning the amnestying of citizens convicted by courts of the Ukrainian SSR;

29) proposing to the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee that it make a ruling concerning the conformity to the USSR Constitution and USSR laws enacted by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR of instruments of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers and also the draft instruments of these bodies and on conformity to the USSR Constitution and USSR laws of the instruments of other state bodies and public organizations;

30) abrogation of edicts and decrees of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, instructions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman and decrees and orders of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers;

31) cancellation of decisions of oblast and city (cities of republic jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies in the event of their nonconformity to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and Ukrainian SSR laws;

32) formulation before the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR or the USSR Supreme Soviet of the question of the abrogation of laws they have enacted and instruments of the Supreme Soviet and its chambers if they go beyond the jurisdiction of the USSR and infringe the republic's sovereign rights;

33) suspension of instruments of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR ministries and departments on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR in instances where they fail to conform to the constitution and laws of the Ukrainian SSR with the simultaneous formulation before the USSR Supreme Soviet of the question of the abrogation of these instruments.

The Ukrainian SSR enacts laws of the Ukrainian SSR and decrees.

The laws and decrees enacted by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet may not contradict USSR laws enacted within the bounds of the jurisdiction of the USSR.

Article 98. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet consists of 450 people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR elected in respect of electoral okrugs of an approximately equal number of voters.

Article 99. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is called to its first session by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium no later than 2 months after the elections.

The first sitting of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet after the elections is opened by the chairman of the Central Election Commission for elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and is chaired prior to the election of the Supreme Soviet chairman and his deputies by a presidium elected by the Supreme Soviet. Subsequently sittings of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet are chaired by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman and his deputies.

Article 100. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, at the submission of the Credentials Commission which it elects, adopts a decision on recognition of the authority of the people's deputies and, in the event of a breach of election legislation, on recognition of the elections of individual people's deputies as invalid.

Article 101. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet performs its work by session.

Sessions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet consist of plenary sittings of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and also sittings held when they are not in session of the standing and other commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

The regular sessions—spring and fall—are convened by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Special sessions are convened by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at the initiative or proposal of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman or by no less than one-third of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 102. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet retains its authority up to the election of a new Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 103. The right of legislative initiative in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet belongs to people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman, the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions, the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court, the Ukrainian SSR Procurator and the Ukrainian SSR Chief State Arbiter.

Public organizations in the person of their republic bodies and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences have the right of legislative initiative also.

Article 104. The draft laws and other questions submitted for examination by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet are discussed at its sittings.

A law of the Ukrainian SSR and a decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet are considered enacted if a majority of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR has voted for them.

Draft laws and other most important issues of the republic's state life may by decision of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet be submitted for public discussion.

Article 105. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is the body, accountable to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, providing for the organization of the work of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and exercising other powers within the limits stipulated by the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and Ukrainian SSR laws.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium incorporates by office the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee and the chairmen of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is headed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

Article 106. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

1) convenes sessions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;

2) organizes the preparation of sessions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;

3) promulgates in the period between sessions, if necessary, edicts which make changes and additions to current legislative instruments of the Ukrainian SSR, with their obligatory submission for ratification by a regular session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;

4) coordinates the activity of standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR;

5) assists the people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR in their exercise of their authority and provides them with the necessary information;

6) exercises supervision of compliance with the Ukrainian SSR Constitution;

7) organizes the preparation and holding of nationwide balloting (referenda) and also public discussion of draft laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other most important matters of the republic's state life;

8) names and renames urban-type communities and villages;

9) bestows state awards of the Ukrainian SSR and confers honorary insignia of the Ukrainian SSR;

10) confers Ukrainian SSR citizenship and decides the question of the granting of asylum;

11) pardons citizens convicted by Ukrainian SSR courts;

12) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Ukrainian SSR in foreign states and at international organizations;

13) receives the credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited thereto;

14) examines with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the question of declaration on territory of the Ukrainian SSR of martial law or a state of emergency in the interests of the country's protection and the citizens' security;

15) declares, if necessary, a state of emergency in individual localities of the Ukrainian SSR in the interests of the citizens' safety;

16) declares, if necessary, individual localities of the Ukrainian SSR ecological disaster areas;

17) publishes in Ukrainian rainian and Russian laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other instruments passed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman; facilitates the publication of the said enactments in translation in other languages employed by the majority of the population of the corresponding localities of the republic.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium promulgates edicts and adopts decrees.

Article 107. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman is the republic's highest official and represents the Ukrainian SSR in the country and in international organizations.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman is elected by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet from the ranks of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR by secret ballot for a 5-year term and for no more than two terms in succession. He may be recalled at any time by way of secret ballot by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 108. The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) exercises general leadership of the preparation of questions to be examined by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and signs laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other instruments enacted by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

2) presents to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet reports on the republic's situation and important questions of its domestic policy and foreign policy activity;

3) submits to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet nominations for election to the offices of first deputy and deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet

and also proposals concerning the personal composition of the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee;

4) submits to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet nominations for appointment or election to the offices of chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court and chief state arbiter of the Ukrainian SSR; and

5) conducts negotiations and signs international treaties of the Ukrainian SSR.

The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet issues instructions.

As empowered by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman, the first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet exercise certain of his functions and substitute for the chairman in the event of his absence or the impossibility of his performing his duties.

Article 109. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet elects from the ranks of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies standing commissions for drafting work and the preliminary examination and preparation of questions pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and also for facilitating the implementation of laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other decisions adopted by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and supervision of the activity of state bodies and organizations.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet creates, when it deems it necessary, investigating, auditing and other commissions on any issue.

Article 110. Laws and other decisions of the Ukrainian SSR are adopted, as a rule, following preliminary discussion of the drafts thereof by the pertinent standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The appointment and election of officials to the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court and also the Ukrainian SSR State Full Court of Arbitration are effected given a ruling by the pertinent standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

All state and public authorities, organizations and officials are obliged to comply with the demands of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions and submit to them the necessary material and documents.

The commissions' recommendations are obligatorily examined by state and public authorities and establishments and organizations. The results of the examination and the adopted measures must be communicated to the commissions within the timeframe they determine.

Article 111. The Ukrainian SSR people's deputy has the right at a Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session to address an inquiry to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the leaders of other bodies formed or elected by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and also to the leaders of enterprises, establishments and organizations located on Ukrainian SSR territory, regardless of their jurisdiction, on questions within the province of the Ukrainian SSR. The body or official to whom the inquiry is addressed is obliged to give a verbal or written response at the given session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

People's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR are exempted from official or production duties for the particular period of time necessary for the exercise of deputy's activity in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions and also among the population. They may be exempted from official or production duties for the whole period of their term of authority in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The people's deputy of the Ukrainian SSR may not be indicted for criminal activity, arrested or subjected to measures of administrative penalty imposed judicially without the consent of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and when it is not in session, without the consent of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Article 112. The Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee is elected by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet for a 10-year term from the ranks of specialists in the sphere of politics and law in the composition of a chairman, deputy chairman and seven commission members.

Persons elected to the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee may not simultaneously be members of bodies whose instruments are subject to the supervision of the committee or also be people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR.

Persons elected to the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee are independent in the exercise of their duties and subordinate only to the USSR Constitution and the Ukrainian SSR Constitution.

The Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee:

1) submits as instructed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet or on its own initiative to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet rulings on the conformity to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution of draft laws of the Ukrainian SSR;

2) exercises observation of the conformity to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and Ukrainian SSR laws of decrees and instructions of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers;

3) as instructed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and per proposals of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers or on its own initiative, makes rulings on the conformity to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and Ukrainian SSR laws of instruments of the local soviets of people's deputies and other state bodies and public organizations of the republic.

Upon ascertainment of a contradiction of an instrument or individual provisions thereof in respect of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution or Ukrainian SSR laws the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee forwards to the body which promulgated the instrument its ruling for removal of the violation. The committee's adoption of such a ruling halts the execution of the instrument or individual provision thereof which is contrary to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution or a Ukrainian SSR law.

The Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee has the right to submit to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet or Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers a proposal concerning the abrogation of instruments of bodies or officials accountable to them which are contrary to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution or a Ukrainian SSR law.

The organization and procedure of the activity of the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Supervision Committee are determined by legislation of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR on constitutional supervision.

Article 113. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet exercises supervision of the activity of all state bodies accountable to it.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet directs the activity of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee heading the system of people's control authorities in the republic.

The organization and procedure of the activity of the people's control authorities are determined by the People's Control in the USSR Act.

Article 114. The procedure of the activity of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and its bodies is determined by Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Orders and other Ukrainian SSR laws promulgated on the basis of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution.

4. Articles 73 and 74 to read as follows:

Article 73. The official language of the Ukrainian SSR is Ukrainian rainian.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the all-around development and functioning of Ukrainian rainian in all spheres of public life.

The Ukrainian SSR guarantees the free use of Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication of the peoples of the USSR.

Other national languages may be used together with the official language in the work of state, party and public bodies and enterprises, establishments and organizations located in places where a majority of citizens of other nationalities lives.

The Ukrainian SSR displays official concern for the free development and use of all national languages used by the population of the republic.

The procedure of the use of Ukrainian rainian and other languages in the Ukrainian SSR is determined by law.

Article 74. The Ukrainian SSR participates in the solution of questions within the province of the USSR at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Government and other USSR bodies.

The Ukrainian SSR provides for comprehensive economic and social development on its territory and facilitates the exercise on this territory of the authority of the USSR and implements decisions of the highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR.

On issues within its province the Ukrainian SSR coordinates and supervises the activity of enterprises, establishments and organizations of union jurisdiction.

The Ukrainian SSR enters into relations with foreign states, concludes treaties with them and exchanges diplomatic and consular representations and participates in the activity of international organizations.

5. Articles 150, 151 and 153 of Section 18. "The Court and Court of Arbitration" to read as follows:

Article 150. All courts of the Ukrainian SSR are formed on the principles of the electivity of the judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of rayon (municipal) people's courts are elected by the oblast and Kiev City soviets of people's deputies respectively.

Judges of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court and also the oblast courts and the Kiev Municipal Court are elected by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

People's assessors of the rayon (municipal) people's courts are elected at citizens' meetings per their place of residence or work by open ballot, and people's assessors of higher courts, by the pertinent soviets of people's deputies.

Judges of all courts are elected for a 10-year term. People's assessors of all courts are elected for a 5-year term.

Judges and people's assessors are responsible to the bodies which elected them or the electorate, render account to them and may be recalled by them in the procedure determined by law.

Article 151. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the Ukrainian SSR and exercises supervision of the judicial activity of the republic's courts.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court consists of a chairman, his deputies, members and people's assessors.

Article 153. The judges and people's assessors are independent and subordinate only to the law.

The judges and people's assessors are secured the conditions for the unimpeded and effective exercise of their rights and duties. Any interference in the activity of judges and people's assessors in the exercise of justice is impermissible and is punishable by law.

The inviolability of judges and people's assessors and also other guarantees of their independence are determined by the Status of Judges in the USSR Act and other legislative instruments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR.

II. In connection with the new wording of sections 9, 10 and 12 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution the insertion of changes and additions ensuing therefrom to the following articles of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution:

1. Article 93 to read as follows:

Article 93. The deputy exercises his authority without, as a rule, taking time off from production or official activity.

While the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet or local soviets of people's deputies are in session and also for the exercise of deputy's authority in other instances provided for by law a deputy is exempted from the performance of production or official duties with compensation to him for expenditure connected with deputy's activity from the resources of the corresponding republic or local budget.

2. Article 117 to read as follows:

Article 117. The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers is responsible to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and accountable to it.

The newly formed Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers submits for examination by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet the program of impending activity for the term of its authority.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers renders account of its work to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet no less frequently than once a year.

3. Part one of Article 118 to read as follows:

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers is empowered to decide all questions of state administration within the province of the Ukrainian SSR insofar as they do not, according to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium and the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

4. Article 120 to read as follows:

Article 120. On the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other decisions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and decrees and instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers issues decrees and instructions and organizes and verifies their fulfillment. Decrees and instructions of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers are binding throughout the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

5. The replacement in part four of Article 122 of the words on the basis and in execution of USSR laws, other decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other decisions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium with the words "on the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet and the laws of the Ukrainian SSR and other decisions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet."

6. Articles 128, 130 and 131 to read as follows:

Article 128. The work of the oblast, rayon, city and city rayon soviets of people's deputies is organized by their presidiums headed by the soviet chairmen, and in city (cities of rayon jurisdiction), community and rural soviets, by the chairmen of these soviets.

Sessions of oblast, rayon, city and city rayon soviets of people's deputies are convened by their presidiums, and of city (cities of rayon jurisdiction), community and rural soviets, by the chairmen of these soviets, not less than four times a year.

The list of questions resolved exclusively at the sessions is determined by the laws governing the local soviets of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 130. The local soviets of people's deputies elect from the ranks of deputies standing commissions for the preliminary examination and preparation of questions within the province of the local soviets and also for facilitating the implementation of the decisions of soviets and higher organs of state power and the exercise within their authority of supervision of the activity of state bodies, enterprises, establishments and organizations located on the territory of the soviet.

The appointment and election of officials to local soviet executive committees and people's control authorities and also of executives to executive committee departments and administrations given the rulings of the pertinent standing commissions of the soviets of people's deputies.

All the state bodies, enterprises, establishments and organizations and also officials located on the territory of a local soviet are obliged to submit to the standing commissions of the soviet the necessary material and documents.

The recommendations of the local soviet standing commissions are obligatorily examined by the pertinent state and public bodies, enterprises, establishments and organizations. The results of the examination and the adopted measures must be communicated to the commissions within the timeframe they determine.

Article 131. The local soviets of people's deputies exercise their activity in close connection with the labor outfits and public organizations, submit the most important questions of local significance for the citizens' discussion and put them to a referendum and adopt measures to broaden the citizens' participation in the work of the soviets and the authorities accountable to them.

7. Articles 132 and 134 to read as follows:

Article 132. The executive and administrative authorities of the local soviets of people's deputies are the executive committees which they elect.

No less frequently than once a year the executive committees render account to the soviets which elected them and also at meetings of the labor outfits and at the citizens' place of residence.

Article 134. The jurisdiction of the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies and the procedure of their activity are determined on the basis of this constitution by the laws governing the local soviets of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR.

8. Article 171 to read as follows:

Article 171. The Ukrainian SSR Constitution is altered by a decision of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted by a majority of no less than two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR. [Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 27 October 1989.

Schedule for New Ukrainian Laws Published

90UN0274B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Oct 89 p 1

[UkSSR Supreme Soviet Decree: "Procedure for Initiation of UkSSR Law 'Changes and Additions to UkSSR Constitution (Basic Law)'"]

[Text] In connection with the enactment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UkSSR] law of 17 October 1989 "Changes and Additions to the UkSSR Constitution (Basic Law)," the UkSSR Supreme Soviet decrees that:

Article 1. The UkSSR Supreme Soviet retains its authority in accordance with Article 102 of the UkSSR Constitution in the wording of the UkSSR law of 27 October 1989 until the election of a new UkSSR Supreme Soviet, and the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, until the formation of a new Presidium.

To instruct the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium no later than 2 months following the elections of people's deputies of the UkSSR to convene the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and organize the preparation of a Supreme Soviet session and also exercise, if necessary, other powers accorded the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by Article 106 of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Constitution in the wording of the UkSSR law of 27 October 1989.

To determine that the edicts issued by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and not examined by the 11th UkSSR Supreme Soviet will be submitted for examination by the newly elected Supreme Soviet.

Article 2. The 5-year term of authority of the soviets of people's deputies established by Article 79 of the UkSSR Constitution in the wording of the UkSSR law of 27 October 1989 extends to the local soviets of people's deputies of the UkSSR, as when they are newly convened.

Article 3. The state authorities and officials accountable to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet retain their authority until the formation or appointment by the Supreme Soviet of the corresponding authorities and officials.

Article 4. The provisions of Articles 80 and 85 of the UkSSR Constitution in the wording of the UkSSR law of 27 October 1989 determining that a citizen may not simultaneously be a people's deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies and also not allowing the election as people's deputies of officials appointed or elected by the soviets and their continuance in office for more than two terms in succession apply from the time of election of the soviets of people's deputies of a new convocation and from the time of their appointment or election of officials respectively.

Article 5. The judges and people's assessors exercise their authority until the election of a new bench of judges in the procedure provided for by Article 150 of the UkSSR Constitution in the wording of the UkSSR law of 27 October 1989. [Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
N. Khomenko, secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 28 October 1989.

Ukrainian Parliament Denies USSR Deputies Vote

90UN0275A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Report on proceedings at 11th Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet 10th Session: "Democratization of the Electoral System—Way to the Sovereignty of the Soviets"]

[Excerpt] The 11th Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet 10th Session began yesterday, 25 October.

V.A. Ivashko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, A.I. Korniyenko, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, V.S. Shevchenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, L.M. Kravchuk, V.D. Kryuchkov, Ya.P. Pogrebnyak and G.I. Revenko, members and candidates of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, are taking part in the session.

The session was opened by Deputy P.G. Kostyuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The following items were submitted for discussion at the session:

1. Legal backing for the reform of representative bodies of state power in the Ukrainian SSR.

2. Elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and local soviet deputies.

3. Draft Ukrainian SSR law on languages in the Ukrainian SSR.

4. Ratification of Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium edicts.

A report on the first item was delivered by Deputy V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (the report is published).

Yu.A. Koltsov, people's deputy of the USSR for Kerchenskiy Electoral Okrug 483, asked to speak on a point of procedure. "I believe that I express the opinion of all USSR people's deputies here present in expressing gratitude to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet for the invitation to the session," he said. "This is the start of our official joint work, as it were. And we know that this work has to be performed in concerted fashion, given mutual understanding and a unification of our forces in the direction of the development of perestroyka in the republic. Such an opportunity is afforded today. In the current situation, in the absence of a law on the status of USSR people's deputies and when the concept of USSR people's deputy has yet to be inserted in all current laws, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet could by its decision accord at this session a vote to USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine...

"Responsibility for the enactment of new laws is exceptionally high. We USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine are prepared to share with you this responsibility in full. The participation of USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine together with you in the voting for new laws would ensure additional support for the enacted laws, which is essential today for an enhancement of the level of legality and law and order in the republic."

"The point is," P.G. Kostyuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, explained, "that such a request is at variance with the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, in accordance with which we operate. We are very happy to have USSR people's deputies participating in our work and willingly accord them the opportunity of participating in the debate with a voice, but no vote. Otherwise it would be necessary to first alter in the constitution the pertinent article, according to which only Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies have the right to vote."

G.K. Kryuchkov, first secretary of the Odessa Obkom (oblast party committee), said:

"I, as USSR people's deputy, would like to ask who authorized the people's deputy to speak on behalf of USSR people's deputies?"

"Yesterday," Yu.A. Koltsov replied, "the republic USSR People's Deputies from the Ukraine Club met. This matter was discussed, and it was decided that it would be expedient to make this proposal...."

In his rejoinder Deputy V.I. Bubnov, leader of a team of drillers of Mine Construction Administration No 3 of the "Dneproshakhtostroy" Works, opposed the attempts to put pressure on the session on the part of certain USSR people's deputies, who, in his opinion, have themselves yet to set an example in the fulfillment of a deputy's duties and their duty to the electorate.

"I have been here for two convocations," he said, "and I believe that we have always tackled issues seriously and productively. And today I would ask you, comrade people's deputies, attend, please, but do not impede our work."

USSR People's Deputy V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, was given the floor.

I would like to ask all of you, dear friends, he addressed those present, is this how we are starting our work? We are faced with tremendous tasks, great difficulties and a great deal of work. Everyone must make his contribution to this work. And the USSR people's deputies, who are working productively, are contributing to it also. Not all of them identically since people are not identical. And I see this from my, if not daily, at least, frequent, it may be said, contacts with them.

The people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and our local soviets are making their contribution also. Is it now possible to take the path of some confrontation with whoever when we have only one solution—the consolidation of the whole Ukrainian people for the good and happiness of the Ukrainian people.

I propose that we cast aside these contradictions which have begun to spring up. I propose that we embark at once on discussion of the draft laws.

The session turned down the proposal that the USSR people's deputies present be accorded a vote as not being in keeping with the Ukrainian SSR Constitution.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Removes Deputy Chairman

90UN0275C Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet decrees:

that Comrade Nikolay Kuzmich Zadaya be relieved of his duties of deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Signed] N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 25 October 1989.

New Deputy Chairman Appointed

90UN0275B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decrees:

The election of Deputy Nikolay Ivanovich Zaludyak as deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [UkSSR] Supreme Soviet; V. Shevchenko, as chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Signed] N. Khomenko, secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Kiev, 25 October 1989.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Session Concludes

PM2911150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent E. Kondratov dispatch under the rubric "Sessions of Union Republic Supreme Soviets": "Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Kishinev—For 4 days Moldavia's attention was intently focused on the republican parliament's session which was being held in the new Supreme Soviet Palace—the sittings were broadcast in full on radio and television.

The draft laws did not have an easy passage. The very first question—on amendments and additions to the republic's Constitution—occupied two whole plenary days. There was no unanimity—amendments were put to the vote several times, and even so some of them simply failed to gain the two-thirds of votes required for ratification. For example, the discussion of Article 97 of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution alone—on the Supreme Soviet's powers—lasted several hours and took the form of a most pointed debate between the deputies' commission which had prepared the draft law and representatives of the Moldavian People's Front, both USSR people's deputies and visitors to the session. Representatives of the "Unitatya-Unity" International Front energetically joined in the argument. The democratic nature of sittings like this is obvious.

Night had already fallen by the time the session rejected the proposals on the introduction of residence qualification for candidate deputies, on curbing servicemen's voting rights, on mandatory ratification of union laws by the republic's Supreme Soviet, on the inclusion of a special article on the vote of confidence in the government in the Moldavian SSR Constitution, on a bicameral system for the republic's parliament, and on the election of the Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman by universal and direct vote.

But perhaps the most heated arguments resulted from a proposal by a number of deputies regarding the need to have the republic's prosecutor confirmed by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. Following 3 hours of debate, deputies agreed that the solution of this question, which requires relevant amendments to the USSR Constitution, lies with the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It was decided to apply to that body on behalf of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet.

Serious differences also emerged when the draft laws on the election of Moldavian SSR people's deputies and local soviet deputies were examined. The session participants had to decide: Should candidates stand strictly according to their place of residence, or should voters be empowered to nominate any citizen of the republic regardless of his permanent residence. In essence, two fundamentally different views were expressed regarding the mission of parliamentary deputies: Some perceived them as professionally trained legislators, others as defenders of regional interests. A compromise decision was made: As a rule, candidates will be nominated from among the electoral okrug's residents. This offers an opportunity to abandon the territorial principle, and it will sharply exacerbate the competitive struggle in the elections scheduled for 25 February next year. Incidentally, this time labor collective councils and collective farm boards will not be allowed to participate in the creation of electoral commissions—this right is fully vested in working people's general meetings.

The session concluded its work Friday evening, having adopted after another tumultuous discussion the laws on the state plan for the Moldavian SSR's economic and social development and its budget for 1990. This will be a decisive stage prior to the republic's transition to economic accountability. During the examination of the draft laws, deputies voiced serious complaints about the government's land tenure policy, the alarming ecological situation, and the unsolved problems regarding the employment of part of the rural population.

The session also ratified the composition of the Central Electoral Commission for the elections of Moldavian

SSR people's deputies and local soviet deputies. Commissions of the republic's Supreme Soviet were formed to monitor the observance of legislation on the functioning of languages in the Moldavian SSR, and to investigate the events which took place in Kishinev 7 and 10 November.

Special Measures to Stabilize Kishinev Situation

90UN0328A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 p 1

[Statement by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Having discussed the question of urgent measures to stabilize the social and political situation in the city of Kishinev, the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers note that, despite the adopted measures, the social and political situation in the city has become critical. On the eve and during the day of celebration of the Great October anniversary mass disturbances of public order were provoked under the influence of extremist persons which led to a disruption of the parade of military equipment and the holdup of individual columns of marchers. The extremists came to Victory Square with provocative slogans and placards and insulting expressions leveled at the CPSU, the Soviet Army and a number of leaders of the republic, inciting interethnic discord.

In the evening of 10 November—Soviet Militia Day—large groups of extremist persons, among whom were those with previous convictions, and many were in a state of intoxication, blockaded the Moldavian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] building. The building was pelted with stones and bottles with an inflammatory mixture, and its outer doors were set on fire. The hooligan elements smashed store windows and glassware and buildings on Lenin Prospekt, and stalls were damaged, which caused considerable financial loss. Traffic in the city center was paralyzed for a long time, and there was a real threat to the inhabitants' health and life.

The police officers' legitimate demands and actions in respect of a curtailment of the mass disturbance of public order was met with malicious resistance accompanied by insults and aggravated assaults against the representatives of the authorities and the setting fire to official motor transport. Then, demanding the resignation of the leadership of the republic, the participants in the outrages held an unsanctioned meeting in Victory Square, at which individual leaders of the Moldavian People's Front and certain USSR people's deputies called for people to assemble in the next few days at a new mass unsanctioned meeting and seek the resignation of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the republic government. These and other actions inflamed the social and political atmosphere extremely and evoked the mass discontent of the republic's population and its concern for its safety and for the possibility for a normalization of the situation.

Guided by the urgent need for the adoption of special measures to stabilize the current situation and ensure public order and the citizens' safety, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers have decreed the immediate implementation on the territory of the city of Kishinev of the following special measures:

1. To prohibit on the territory of the city until a special order the holding of citizens' mass demonstrations, mass meetings, gatherings and street marches, the entry of means of transport not connected with support for the activity of the national economy, the sale in the trading system and public catering enterprises of hard liquor, the presence of juveniles after 2000 on the streets, in squares and public gardens and other public places and the use of walkie-talkies and loudspeakers.

2. To entrust to the leaders of ministries, state committees and departments, enterprises, establishments and organizations personal responsibility for ensuring labor and production discipline and public order in the outfits which they head and to organize the protection of the most important facilities of the national economy, mounting a round-the-clock watch at them.

3. To instruct the internal affairs authorities, having enlisted the appropriate public formations, to implement within a period of 2 weeks preventative measures pertaining to the exposure of persons disposed toward antisocial manifestations and in violation of ID regulations and to adopt measures in accordance with current legislation. To confiscate from citizens, in accordance with the law, firearms, side arms and ammunition. When putting a stop to the actions of criminal elements and persons flagrantly in breach of public order, disrupting the work of transport and encroaching on the honor, dignity and inviolability of citizens and officials, people working for the internal affairs authorities to employ means of active defense in the procedure determined by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium edict of 28 July 1988.

4. To form for an analysis of the social and political situation created as the result of the events of 7 and 10 November 1989 and coordination of the actions of the pertinent authorities and officials for normalizing it a special state commission consisting of:

a chairman of the commission
Ivan Petrovich Kalin, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

Deputy chairmen
van Timofeyevich Gutsu, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.
Mikhail Sergeyevich Platon, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.
Viktor Stepanovich Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

Members of the commission:
Fedor Afanasyevich Angeli, director of ATEM [Moldavian Telegraph Agency].
Valeriy Georgiyevich Bobutsak, minister of trade of the Moldavian SSR.
Ivan Semenovich Bolbat, minister of transport and highways of the Moldavian SSR.

Dmitriy Petrovich Bragish, first secretary of the Moldavian LKSM [Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee and USSR people's deputy.
Vladimir Nikolayevich Voronin, minister of internal affairs of the Moldavian SSR.
Yuriy Mikhaylovich Gerasimov, chief of the Moldavian Railroad.
Nikolay Trofimovich Dabizha, people's deputy of the USSR.
Nikolay Kuzmich Demidenko, procurator of the Moldavian SSR.
Vladimir Georgiyevich Dobrya, chairman of the Kishinev City Soviet of People's Deputies Ispolkom [executive committee].
Kirill Alekseyevich Draganyuk, minister of health of the Moldavian SSR.
Dmitriy Georgiyevich Zidu, minister of public education of the Moldavian SSR.
Colonel General Vladlen Sergeyevich Kolesov
Igor Matveyevich Kuzyayev, chief of staff of the Moldavian SSR Civil Defense.
Georgiy Ivanovich Lavranchuk, chairman of the Moldavian SSR KGB.
Stepan Ivanovich Lozan, chairman of the Moldavian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.
Viktor Ivanovich Nazarov, military commissar of the MoldavianSSR.
Dmitriy Ivanovich Nidelku, secretary of the Moldavian Council of Trade Unions, member of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Vasiliy Petrovich Russu, minister of communications of the Moldavian SSR.
Georgiy Sergeyevich Russu, chief physician of the Protection of the Health of Mother and Child Research Institute Clinic and USSR people's deputy.
Anatoliy Andreyevich Ryabov, minister of justice of the Moldavian SSR.
Viktor Grigoryevich Sinev, minister of housing and municipal services of the Moldavian SSR.
Nikolay Antonovich Tsyu, first secretary of the Kishinev Gorkom [city party committee] and USSR people's deputy.
Petr Ivanovich Shapa, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.
Anatoliy Zakharovich Shcherbina, chief of the Civil Aviation Administration.

In addition, the local soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees are instructed to concentrate efforts on the immediate accomplishment of tasks of a recovery of the social and political situation in the republic. To enlist in this work activists, the artistic intelligentsia and the work force, boldly enter into open dialogue with people, resolutely counter provocative and extremist manifestations and create around them objective public opinion. To accord the right, with regard for the state of the social and political situation, to implement similar measures of a special nature on the territories under their jurisdiction.

It is required of the internal affairs, procuracy and justice authorities and all law enforcement bodies of the republic that they institute opportunely and fully in accordance with the law proceedings against persons who have committed crimes and disturbed public order and emphatically put a stop to manifestations of extremism and all actions aimed at destabilizing the situation and arousing and fomenting national discord. Consider a most flagrant violation of their duty incompatible with continued work in the law enforcement authorities each instance of inaction and nonuse of measures of punishment against the guilty parties determined by law.

The attention of the leaders of the media is called to the urgent need to provide for the objective coverage and truthful evaluation of the ongoing events, emphatically combat all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism and contribute in every possible way to the consolidation of public forces on the basis of the principles of perestroyka.

Medvedev Meets Lithuanian Party Leaders

LD3011071189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is in Vilnius. He has been invited to take part in a plenum of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee. On the evening of 29 November Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev had a meeting with members of the bureau of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee.

Brazauskas Praises Gorbachev on Baltic Economy

LD2911225389 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] When in 1940 a delegation of Lithuanian People's Sejmas returned from the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow (?which declared) Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union, all newspapers clamored that Stalin's sun was brought to Lithuania. Today late in the evening a group of the USSR People's Deputies for Lithuania returned to Vilnius. Having left in the Kremlin a piece of Stalin's (?ultra-sun), the Lithuanian deputies brought home the law on economic self-dependence. From the next year Estonia and Latvia too will run the economy independently.

In a telephone interview to the Lithuanian radio minutes after the Supreme Soviet sitting, the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, described the essence of the law and prospects it opens as historic.

The Lithuanian deputies and observers are unanimous that President Mikhail Gorbachev played a great part in the sitting and Algirdas Brazauskas said: I bow my head before Mikhail Gorbachev.

The issue of the Baltic economic self-dependence was debated not in the morning sitting from which the Soviet leader was absent for unknown reasons, but in the afternoon sitting, which he chaired. Many believe that, among other things, Mikhail Gorbachev has in mind the forthcoming summit meeting later this week as well. [passage omitted] The returns of the vote are as follows: 296 said yes, 67 against, with 37 abstained.

Lithuanian Law on National Minorities Passed

PM2911134389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading: "At Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Excerpt] Vilnius, 24 Nov—[passage omitted] The [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet] session adopted the Law of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic "On National Minorities." Under this law, all the republic's citizens, regardless of their nationality, are guaranteed equal political, economic, and social rights and freedoms. In order to guarantee these, a network of preschool establishments and general education schools will be developed where teaching will be in national minority languages. Citizens who are not of Lithuanian nationality have the right to publish and the right to have access to information in their native language, and can occupy any position in the organs of state power and management.

It was decided to continue the session's work 4 December.

Latvian Arrested for Weapons Possession

LD3011105889 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Riga November 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev:

During an operation against organised crime, agents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and State Security Committee of Latvia arrested 34-year-old Leo Hirssons, allegedly a photographer of the "Focus" cooperative, the Latvian press reported today.

A whole arsenal—two submachine-guns, pistols, home-made grenades, a mine, a large quantity of cartridges and about 20 pieces of cold steel—were found at his home.

When questioned, Hirssons stressed repeatedly that he was a member of the Latvian Social-Democratic Workers Party (LSDWP). Found among his belongings was a scheme to replace the republic's power structure and lists of members of the coordination centre of the LSDWP organisational bureau.

The SOVETSKAYA LATVIA newspaper says that Hirssons spent about three months in Sweden this spring, where he had a meeting with Vilnis Zalkaln, deputy chairman of the LSDWP Foreign Committee. The Free Europe Broadcasting Station informed Latvian listeners about the meeting.

During a political debate in Sweden this summer, Zalkaln was asked how Latvia's independence could be achieved. "We will do it ourselves and not without bloodshed," he replied.

During the interrogation Hirssons said that he needed the weapons for "self-defence". Officials of the Latvian State Security Committee told TASS that the investigation needed to clarify whether there was any connection between Zalkaln's statement and the punishable activities of this LSDWP activist, who is chairman of the organisational bureau's coordination centre. Delegates of the LSDWP congress, which will open at Jurmala on December 2, will obviously be interested to know this too.

Riga Gorkom Defends Oct Revolution Contribution

90UN0284A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 p 1

["Appeal by the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, one of the most remarkable holidays of of the Soviet people and the entire progressive humanity, is drawing closer. The entire world recognizes this date and acknowledges it as the main event of the 20th century.

The way of the discoverers is difficult. There has been a great number of tragic pages as well in the post-October history of the country. Blunders, mistakes, and distortions have been allowed to occur. However, it is for eliminating them, for endowing socialism with its Leninist countenance that perestroyka proclaimed by the party has been initiated.

Carrying on the cause of the revolution, perestroyka enhances and develops socialist democracy. We interpret this as a reliable guarantee that processes under way in our country are irreversible. We will develop and enhance democracy and glasnost further.

While analyzing the past we strive to understand it better. A truthful and honest approach to history, an approach without defamation and embellishment—this is what gives us strength for the future, and reinforces our belief in the ideals of the revolution and the creative work which the party is doing at present. We are resolutely getting rid of the logjams of the administrative and command system and cleansing our common house of the slime and mildew of the period of stagnation.

Unfortunately, there are destructive forces in our republic which are striving in any manner, without shrinking away even from falsification, to belittle the role and significance of the cause of the revolution, the cause of October, and of our current perestroyka.

At issue is the appearance of materials in some broadcasts of the Latvian Radio and TV and in newspapers in recent days which belittle the role of our revolution and virtually call for the boycott of the celebration of the 72d anniversary of the Great October.

The position of communists who are on the board of the People's Front Duma which actually initiated this campaign is also deplorable.

The bureau of the city committee of the party condemns such attempts which bring about the destabilization of the situation in the republic. All of us should remember the indisputable truth that it was exactly the Great October that helped the Latvian people to acquire its own statehood for the first time in many centuries of its history.

Dear comrades!

All of us have become sufficiently convinced that problems will not be solved by politics alone, by meetings alone, by foisting dubious interpretations of our history. A high degree of organization, work, and discipline are necessary in order to move ahead. The time has come for practical endeavors, for the increasing responsibility of each primary party organization, labor collective, toiler, each resident of our city.

We believe in the success of our endeavors. The root of this conviction is in the fact that at present as well the socialist idea has not lost its appeal to the people. This means that we have preserved what is the most important, and the tasks of perestroyka will definitely be accomplished no matter how complex and difficult they are.

We believe in the wisdom of the citizens of Riga, we believe that they will not allow anyone to exploit their patriotic feelings and will not be led by those who are trying to cancel history.

We call on everyone to take a most active part in celebrations and demonstrations devoted to the 72d anniversary of the Great October and celebrate it as the great and glorious holiday of the entire people. We will carry on the cause of Lenin—the cause of October by participating vigorously in perestroyka!

There is no higher honor than to follow the path of the discoverers, and give all our strength, energy, knowledge, and abilities in the name of the triumph of the ideas and goals of October!

[signed] Bureau of the Riga City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia

Estonia's Pyldroos on Role of Party

90UN0305A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Enn Pyldroos by V. Ivanov: "Enn Pyldroos: 'We Were Dreaming of Less....'"]

[Excerpts] **Today's interviewe needs no special introduction: The name of Enn Pyldroos is well known not only among artists of the republic (and he is, as our readers certainly know, chairman of the Estonian Artists Union Board). A deputy of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, member of the Estonian People's Front Council of Representatives and candidate of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Enn Pyldroos is today playing a pronounced part in the social and political life of the republic.**

I believe that, on account of the said factors, readers will be interested in learning this person's opinion of the current situation in Estonia. [passage omitted]

[Ivanov] Is today's Communist Party, in your view, the sole force capable of managing society and extricating it from the crisis situation? I refer to both our republic and the entire country as a whole?

[Pyldroos] I have already written about this several times—in NOORTE KHYAEL, in EDAZI, in RAKHVA KHYAEL.... To be honest, I doubt it. Although I do not deny it entirely. This is why I doubt it. The Communist Party's role—with us in Estonia, in any event—is that of a limited number of leaders. True, they have great authority and influence, but they are, for all that, **individuals.** Such as Vyalyas or the city and rayon committee secretaries.... But as far as the party is concerned, its role would seem to me quite weak.

[Ivanov] Perhaps you are right. But I, for example—not by way of disputing your viewpoint but as I personally see this—do not today find another force on the political scene which could cope to greater effect with the difficulties confronting our whole society. Nor do I mean, what is more, merely the "guiding and directing role of the CPSU" pretentiously enshrined by a line of the constitution but speak precisely of **realities.** Perhaps I simply do not know what you know.

[Pyldroos] Neither do I have a precise answer. But as far as the party itself is concerned.... In my opinion, it has become too "wide-spanning," perhaps.... After all, a political party should be quite compact in order to effectively be an alliance of fellow-thinkers. I do not refer to the Stalinist understanding of this word as the **uniform**thinking of all its members but there should, for all that, be some unity of aims and views. But what, for example, could I have in common with that same Yevgeniy Kogan, who is prepared to accede to the partitioning of Estonia, which is small as it is?! Understand me, it is not a question of Kogan's personality but of the fact that his standpoints are shared by many people. The spectrum of opinions represented in our party today—"left to right"—is roughly two or three times wider than any political organization can permit itself. Just imagine the range: "Yevgeniy Kogan, Maryu Lauristin, Tiyt Made!" Within such a framework consolidation "from end to end" is, in my opinion, impossible. At best, the maximum which could be achieved here would be a truce: Let us not fight on such and such conditions.... But then this would no longer be an organization which could concern itself with some integral policy.

I stress: I am far from maintaining that there is One Truth and One God—of course not. Different opinions, different leaders are needed. But why do they have to be in one party? Essentially, there are several parties in the Communist Party even now. In fact this principle is already being exercised by some territorial organizations. For this reason the party cannot be assertive and pursue an active policy. Let us take the same Estonian Communist Party action program. A good program. But here also the Communist Party has "adopted" some positions devised by other forces.... Little by little, from here, from there, it wishes to incorporate various propositions from various movements. But this is not independent policy but policy of the middleman.

[Ivanov] Well, the same Marxism imbibed Hegelian dialectics, something of Kant, of Campanella....

[Pyldroos] Yes, this is possible, and has always been the case. But at that time Marxists had initiative also and they went further. But now it is precisely initiative (at least in the Estonian Communist Party, in my view) which is lacking. The role of the middleman, I repeat....

[Ivanov] But perhaps at this stage it is precisely this which is needed?

[Pyldroos] Perhaps, perhaps....

[Ivanov] Then who today, in your opinion, is ready to assume that very initiative to a greater extent than the Communist Party?

[Pyldroos] You know, initiative is currently coming from various parties. We will not examine the extreme movements but, at least, the initiative of the People's Front on the one hand and the OSTK [United Workforce Council] on the other. Although they are in conflict between themselves, they have, of course, more initiative and energy than the Communist Party.

[Ivanov] Is there any point, then, in your view, in the formation within the party of some factions in order to more clearly delineate interests and operate in more compact groups?

[Pyldroos] I believe that this is inevitable. They already exist. We are simply concealing this from ourselves. We are pretending that this is not the case. This is not, in my opinion, simply a republic but an all-union issue. After all, our local problems are a reflection of general problems.

[Ivanov] Tell me, with whom would you personally want to be in a single party? We will take Vyalyas' name as read. But on a union scale?

[Pyldroos] A very difficult question.... I have not even given any thought to this for some reason. Let me think.... Well, then, I am very interested in the activity of the Interregional Deputy Group created at the Congress of Soviets. Although even there I do not have 100-percent confidence in every leader....

[Ivanov] Well, this is natural.

[Pyldroos] Yes.... Although this is a group of deputies, essentially the signs of some parliamentary party faction are present therein. In my opinion, this is now the most dynamic force.

[Ivanov] To employ terminology which is somewhat "unfashionable" now, with whom would you go on reconnaissance? I do not mean front reconnaissance specifically but, let us put it this way, reconnaissance of the future which awaits us?

[Pyldroos] Well, I would go with **this** group, perhaps. I do not wish to single out anyone personally. I hope you understand.

[Ivanov] You have already named other individuals—Kogan, Maryu Lauristin, Tiyt Made. Could you not, if only briefly, express your attitude toward **their** positions?

[Pyldroos] As far as Kogan is concerned, my attitude here is clearly negative. Because I believe that this is the past. With Made, somewhat more complex. I am very negative toward his articles in the newspaper SVENSKA DAGBLADET, which I have already stated. I do not entirely understand **why** he wrote as he did. This does not tie in with his entire activity. For this reason my attitude toward him is generally guarded, I would say. And with Lauristin I have very much in common.

[Ivanov] Let us fantasize a little. Let us assume that you have power and the right to decide to whom to give the floor, and to whom, not. How would you act with those who share Kogan's positions? Would you attempt to operate by prohibition?

[Pyldroos] Certainly not. Because this is the stupidest policy—prohibiting. You get nowhere by prohibition. It is only necessary to prohibit actions which pertain to the criminal sphere: Provocations and offenses, which become a danger to other people.

[Ivanov] You do not as yet see Kogan's actions as being such?

[Pyldroos] I believe not. I do not want to talk about the rumors which ascribe to him unbelievable things. Although I may say that Kogan sometimes tells an untruth or that he employs wrong methods. But this is an entirely different matter, here I must prove him wrong. That is, operate **politically**.

[Ivanov] Thank God, disagreements with us are as yet being settled precisely by such methods, in the main, without clashes and other excesses on national grounds, as is happening in the Caucasus and Central Asia....

[Pyldroos] Let us hope that it will continue thus. Although there are signs of a disturbing nature. For example, there have already been several instances of the smashing up of artists' studios. Not armed robbery and larceny but smashing up, precisely.

[Ivanov] Indeed, as far as I know, the same Yarovyy had his dacha torched this summer. There are fools aplenty everywhere, as they say....

[Pyldroos] I agree. To find 100-150 idiots of any kind in such a city as Tallinn—this is not a problem.

[Ivanov] How do you assess the activity of the Estonian citizens' committees?

[Pyldroos] You know, I do not see this activity somehow leading to any constructive end. It is no secret that the idea of an independent Estonian republic is very popular among the indigenous population and that the citizens' committees are the expression of this idea at a very naive level. I would call this "decorative politics," which is conducted at the level of eye- catching slogans not underpinned by a constructive strategy which could offer something or other.

[Ivanov] That is, summing up, as it were, you believe that this path leads to impasse?

[Pyldroos] Yes, I daresay.

[Ivanov] To return to the very idea of Estonia's independence. Do you believe this is practicable in principle?

[Pyldroos] Answering this question is extraordinarily difficult. Not because I wish to avoid giving an answer. It is simply that we are now in an action zone of such a number of the most contradictory political vectors that predicting which of them will ultimately prove the stronger (and where the general movement is heading) is something that hardly anyone would venture. Currently, in any event, I repeat, none of these vectors is preponderant. An independent Estonia could arise only as the result of complex and lengthy political and economic development, and this path has to be exclusively peaceful and democratic, what is more.

[Ivanov] The final question. The idea of the conversion of the Estonian People's Front from a mass movement into a political **party** was expressed at a recent meeting of the People's Front Council of Representatives. What is your attitude toward this in principle and, were such a thing to come about, how would you resolve for yourself the question of membership in this party? After all, simultaneous membership of both the CPSU and a "People's Front Party" (let us provisionally call it such as yet) would hardly be possible.

[Pyldroos] On the first part of your question. I believe that sooner or later this (that is, the formation of a political party based on the Estonian People's Front—V.I.) will happen. Because the People's Front has the same problem as the Estonian Communist Party—a very wide spectrum of positions—and for this reason the Estonian People's Front is in its political statements also guarded, if not to say vapid. A certain indecisiveness and a desire not to offend these and not to offend those is showing through.... The time for choosing some one thing is approaching (the Estonian People's Front election platform is such an attempt to a certain extent). Then there will be within the framework of the People's Front not a single organization but several—with the characteristics of **parties.** Yes, at the initial stage there has been a rapid unification of various people in the People's Front based on a single idea. But this cannot last forever, and the formation of tinier groups, currents, factions, if you will, is occurring within the Estonian People's Front already....

As far as my membership is concerned.... Speaking of this is as yet premature. Although even now I am often asked whether I represent in the People's Front the interests of the Communist Party or, on the other hand, in the Communist Party Central Committee, the interests of the People's Front. In such cases I reply that in both places I represent primarily the interests of the artistic intelligentsia. My final decision—it will evidently depend on who ultimately more consistently expresses and defends general democratic interests, the principles of freedom of creativity—in all spheres, and not only in art—and the values of humanism.

[Ivanov] Many thanks for the substantive discussion.

Petrozavodsk Secretary To Be Replaced

LD3011071289 Moscow Domestic in Russian 0500 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A plenum of the CPSU oblast committee in Petrozavodsk today will be considering an organizational matter. This, for the first time, has been announced in advance. Stepanov, first secretary of the oblast party committee, is to be released from his duties in connection with his request to retire on pension. As a result of a broad discussion, over 20 candidacies have been put forward for the post.

Army Daily on 22 Nov Leningrad Rally

PM2711161989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Own correspondents Colonel V. Streltsov and Captain First Rank A. Zlydnev report: "'Our Banner Is Red!' Participants in Leningrad Partywide City Rally Stated"]

[Text] It would not be wrong to say that the rally which took place on the evening of 22 November was the logical sequel to the joint plenum of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom] and City Committee

[Gorkom] that was held immediately before. The two events were linked by their participants' desire to convey to all Soviet people their deep concern at the state of our society, the fate of perestroyka, and the CPSU's role in it.

...The beams of the floodlights installed on the improvised platform at the V.I. Lenin Sports and Concert Complex cut through the early fall twilight. In the crowded square they constantly picked out familiar but freshly interpreted slogans—"There Is Such a Party!" and "All Power to the Soviets!"—as well as slogans with a new ring to them: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, Pay Attention to the Party!"; "Do We Exist for the Central Committee or Does the Central Committee Exist for Us?"; "Let's Cleanse the Party of Bureaucrats!"; and others.

The new first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom, B.V. Gidaspov, opened the rally with a vigorous introductory speech. He said in particular that such an unusual meeting of Communists is an expression of the desire of hundreds of the city's primary organizations. It reaffirms Communists' desire to close party ranks in the struggle to restore the party's authority among the masses, renew socialism, and extricate the country from the crisis.

Today, Communist Gidaspov stressed, it is important to hear the voice of the people and for the people to hear us. That is why we have gathered here. I. Nikodimov, A. Chaykovskiy, Yu. Terentyev, Yu. Shestalov, A. Fedotov, V. Nikonov, and many others who addressed the meeting spoke with anguish about the problems that have accumulated in the country and demanded that the party leadership's responsibility for the gulf between words and deeds and for the failure to take effective measures to prevent crises be increased.

Our attention was caught by the slogan "We Demand That an Extraordinary CPSU Congress Be Convened in January-February 1990." It was held by Valeriy Aleksandrovich Yarayev, secretary of the "Lenbytkhim" Association party committee. We asked about the scale of support for this demand in the party organization that he represents:

"The Krasnoselskiy Party Rayon Committee did not back this slogan, but the demand remained in the primary organizations. Only a party congress, Communists believe, will give the Central Committee fresh strength and make it the really combat-capable, genuine headquarters of perestroyka."

Expressing the will of Leningrad Communists in the struggle for perestroyka's socialist ideals, the participants in the meeting adopted a resolution: "Our banner," it says, "was and remains red and bears the words: 'Lenin, October, Socialism!'"

The meeting was concluded. Vladimir Ilich Lenin's favorite song, "Comrades, Boldly March in Step," rang out over the snow-covered square. It seemed to return all those gathered to the difficult years of revolutionary struggle, and summoned Communists to close ranks in the name of socialism.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Session Concludes

90UN0308A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 1

[BELTA report: The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet 12th Session, 11th Convocation: Session Diary"]

[Text] At the evening session on 26 October those attending the 12th session of the BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation continued their discussion of the report from the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman N.I. Dementey "On the BSSR Draft Laws 'On Changes and Amendments to the BSSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)'" and "On the Elections of People's Deputies to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies in the BSSR.'" The following took part in the discussion: Deputies I.N. Smolyar (the Mozyr-Yuzhnyy electoral okrug, Gomel Oblast), A.N. Bulavitskiy (the Kobrinskiy rural electoral okrug, Brest Oblast), I.G. Chigrinov (the Orekhovskiy electoral okrug, Vitebsk Oblast), N.Ye. Savchenko (the Starodorozhkiy electoral okrug, Minsk Oblast), G.N. Buravkin, (the Parichskiy electoral okrug, Gomel Oblast), V.N. Maslakov (the Volgogradskiy electoral okrug, Minsk city), V.K. Starovoytov (the Kirovskiy electoral okrug, Mogilev Oblast), Ye.M. Kovalevskiy, USSR people's deputy (the Moshchanitskiy electoral okrug, Mogilev Oblast), V.I. Kushnir (the Malininskiy electoral okrug, Minsk city), and P.P. Vasilyev (the Lermontovskiy electoral okrug, Minsk city).

The session continued its work on 27 October. On assignment from the party group, Deputy Ye.Ye. Sokolov spoke at the session. The report from the BSSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Legislative Proposals was presented by its chairman, Deputy I.F. Yakushev. Deputy N.I. Dementey made the closing remarks. Those present then moved on to the voting. A secret ballot was conducted on the most controversial points of the laws. Under Article 84 of the BSSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), which talks about elections from public organizations, there was a roll-call vote. The deputies decided to offer the right of election from public organizations to the Belorussian Council of War Vets, and also to the associations for the blind and the deaf, and the association of the disabled. Okrug election meetings will not be conducted in Belorussia.

The BSSR Council of Ministers chairman M.V. Kovalev answered an inquiry from a deputy concerning improving the ecological situation in the settlement of Krasnoselskiy in Grodno Oblast. It was decided to work on a resolution on this issue.

At the proposal of the Chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministers M.V. Kovalev, V.G. Tikhin was confirmed as minister of justice.

Based on the report presented by BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary L.N. Syroyegina, the Supreme Soviet confirmed ukases issued by the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Chairman of the Minsk City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] V.I. Mikhasev, informed deputies that on 26 October an unsanctioned meeting had been organized at 1900 hours on 26 October on Lenin Square in Minsk city, in which USSR People's Deputies S.S. Shushkevich and I.V. Ablameyko, and BSSR Supreme Soviet Deputy G.V. Yeremeyev had participated. Those present at that meeting had disrupted the normal operation of passenger transport. The damage caused to the city economic had amounted to R125,000. V.I. Mikhasev demanded that compensation be paid for the material damages caused to the city services.

Deputies G.V. Yeremeyev and V.S. Kosyanchuk spoke on the matters raised by V.I. Mikhasev.

The 12th session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet was then declared closed.

First Secretary Gives Speech

90UN0292A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 1

[Speech by First Secretary Ye.Ye. Sokolov at 11th Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet 12th Session]

[Text] Dear Comrade Deputies!

I believe you will agree with me that the discussion at the present session has been keen, constructive, and very committed. It could not have been otherwise. Questions which are not only significant but vitally significant for all strata of the people of Soviet Belorussia have been discussed.

Of course, there have been unduly emotional outbursts, more, ill-considered statements, also. This obviously may be explained by the fact that some people are as yet only just mastering political culture in general and the culture of polemics in particular.

On the eve of the session members of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and members of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [BSSR] Presidium and republic government visited many outfits for the purpose of a more in-depth and detailed study of public opinion and determination of the ways of solving the problems which have arisen. We also returned to the documents of the 19th party conference, the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, CPSU Central Committee plenums and plenums of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. This helped in the preparation, in my view, of the thorough report delivered by Nikolay Ivanovich Dementey, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

What do I think was most characteristic in the discussion of the report?

I would answer this question as follows: concern, reflection, quest. Precisely, concern for the fate of the fatherland in general and the republic in particular, and reflections on the way by which to proceed further and how to multiply socialist values imbued the speeches of Comrades Moshko, Radetskiy, Gilevich, Piskarev, Chigrinov, Azgur, Savchenko, Starovoytov, Bulavitskiy and many other deputies.

And this is highly gratifying. What we do today will determine what kind of republic ours will become and how and under what conditions its people will live in the immediate future and in the long term.

At the same time, seeking new approaches and new forms and, all the more, assimilating them is necessary in a situation where a multitude of problems has accumulated and where there is no escaping a single one of them—I stress, not a single one.

A fruitful solution is demanded by all of them, but primarily those which are associated with an improvement in man's provision with the wherewithal for life and the growth of the people's well-being.

And this can only be achieved on one condition—if we see perestroyka and the renewal of socialism as a natural process of the socialist creativity of the masses and realization of the creative potential of the people.

This is a Leninist approach, and we will not retreat from it, however much those who are attempting to turn society aside from the path on which our people embarked in October 1917 would like us to do.

I do not know about you but the airy attitude toward the "people" concept has grated on my hearing somewhat. To make statements on behalf of the people, it is necessary to at least know their thoughts, their interests, and their needs.

But what is frequently the case with us? There issue forth, as if from a cornucopia, from some speaker figures, percentages and facts, following which comes the conclusion: such is the opinion of the people, such is the demand of the people. Permit me to inquire: Has the speaker met the people, has he discussed these problems with them? No, he has not.

The endeavor to appear a representative of the people, come what may, at times seems both ridiculous and fraudulent.

In Minsk recently, a small group of young people was collecting on the street signatures to sheets of paper, one of which was headed: Demand of the Working Class On the Leadership of the Republic for the Immediate and Full Provision of the Population With Consumer Goods and for Lowering of Their Prices.

Some passersby signed these sheets, not knowing to what ends their signatures would ultimately be used.

Tell me, please: Can such a collecting of signatures be considered a demand of the people? This is nothing other than deception of the people. Deception on the part of those who are slandering Soviet power in every possible way, slandering the party and socialism and seeking paths of a confrontation with society and a disruption of the normal work rhythm of the national economy.

Many of us know about yesterday's mass meeting. It began in work time. Bus and trolleybus traffic was disrupted. Workers and employees were unable to collect their young ones from the kindergarten and return home on time and relax. And those working the second shift were unable to get to work on time. According to preliminary information, the city's municipal services alone incurred losses totaling R125,000.

And what is particularly disturbing? Many adolescent vocational-technical school and technical school trainees have been taking part in the mass meetings. Many drunks also. And certain USSR people's deputies and BSSR Supreme Soviet deputies have been making speeches to them. How are we to understand them? Do they actually think that this is what perestroyka means?

I address those who think that all is permitted them and who believe that the laws have not been written for them. They are profoundly in error. Society today demands the observance of legality, a tightening of law and order and a strengthening of discipline. And none of us can or has the right not to heed these demands.

We understand the critical attitude toward the exacerbation of the socioeconomic situation. But we are emphatically opposed to those who while in practice not lifting a finger to solve the accumulated problems more quickly are speculating on the people's behalf.

Those very consumer goods. They are produced not at mass meetings but in the fields and in the shops and at the construction sites and livestock sections. And in order to produce them it is necessary at a minimum to apply to this either hands or intellect, and in the majority of cases, both.

This was rightly discussed yesterday both at the session and at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet's party group held immediately following it. The communist deputies entrusted me with presenting to you a number of amendments to and observations in respect of the documents of the upcoming election campaign.

But first I would like to say this.

The draft laws submitted for your examination were prepared in a very short space of time. The BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Legislative Proposals Commission performed a great deal of work both on an improvement in the bills directly and in respect of the fact that their discussion was democratic. And considerable credit for this is due N.I. Dementey, chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

And let us be objective: The atmosphere of democratic spirit, openness and free exchange of opinions helps us in our work.

The party group came to the unanimous conclusion that it is not necessary transferring all the provisions of the USSR Constitution one for one, so to speak, to the BSSR Constitution.

This applies primarily to the elections from the public organizations. In our view, it would be expedient to accord only four public formations—the Belorussian Republic Veterans of War and Labor Organization, the Belorussian Society for the Deaf, the Belorussian Society for the Blind and the Belorussian Invalids Society—this right.

The following quotas are submitted for your examination: for veterans, 29 deputies, for each above-listed society, 7 deputies. Total, 50 BSSR people's deputies.

Why is it proposed securing this right precisely for them?

Veterans of the party, war and labor built socialism, defended the honor and independence of the fatherland in the fight against the German-fascist aggressors, restored the national economy in the postwar years and generously shared their experience with the younger generation and are handing on to them illustrious traditions.

They have lived a hard life but have always been true to the ideals of socialism and have always and in any situation, however difficult, been at the forward edge.

Many of them are in formation today also, are participating actively in perestroyka and are the teachers and mentors of the youth. The future will be theirs also.

And there is no doubt that their representatives should be in a renewed Supreme Soviet. And not only to defend the interests of people of the older generation. A renewed soviet needs their wealth of experience and their life-tested wisdom.

As far as the societies for invalids, the blind and the deaf are concerned, obviously, no explanations are needed here. Were we to reserve for them the right to elect their representatives to the Supreme Soviet, this would be not only an act of profound respect for these people. It would be an act of charity in the highest meaning of this word.

Concerning the okrug meetings, the BSSR Constitution makes no mention of them. Let us in this respect leave our constitution unchanged.

Now, as regards the number of persons on the secret voting ballot paper, on this item also the party group unanimously concluded: any number. Let us be realists. We can conceive of a situation where an election campaign is drawing to a close, and one of the two candidates, having weighed the "pros" and "cons," decides not to test fate. Well, then, run the elections anew? And if the situation is repeated? These would, after all, not be elections but some electoral leap-frog.

economic and social development for 1990. If implemented, the plan will help to halt the negative and consolidate the positive changes in the economy and uphold Russia's potential before it becomes economically self-reliant in 1991.

The plan's figures give some idea of the priorities: the need to stabilize the republic's economic situation, to improve its finances, to increase the production of industrial and food products and to expand services.

This is to be achieved by economic and organisational measures. More money than previously planned will go into education, culture, health and other social spheres. Twenty-two billion roubles will be invested in the federation's agro-industrial complex as against 17.5 billion this year.

The parliament has also revised some of the figures in the draft budget. The parliament had to decide on some urgent measures to resolve social problems.

Possibilities were also found to somewhat increase the income. Next year's budget was approved with revenues at 131,726,000,000 roubles and spending at 138,760,000,000 roubles.

The Federation's government will now have to face the arduous task of shrinking the budget deficit.

Deputies Discuss Miners' Strikes

LD2911173889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet ended its work in Moscow on 29 November. A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Bold plans for the development of the national economy of the RSFSR which were outlined today at the session of the Supreme Soviet of this major Soviet republic can be implemented only if there is highly efficient social production and strict labor discipline. This idea was present in almost every speech by the deputies.

The following figures were cited at the session: last year the republic's national economy lost R700,000,000 from rejected products; losses of working time in the first half of this year amounted to 8,000,000 work days, including over 1,000,000 workdays from strikes. Many deputies are convinced that the session decided to hear a report from the government on the miners' strikes and the situation on the railways.

This report was delivered by Leonid Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the republican Council of Ministers. He stated that the loss of coal in the RSFSR as a result of strikes amounted to 4,000,000 tonnes of which 875,000 tonnes is accounted for by the strike in Vorkuta, which is still continuing at one mine—Vargashorskaya. To satisfy the miners' demands, longterm plans have been worked out for the development of the coal basins. Special programs have been prepared to resolve many social problems of the miners' collectives.

Leonid Gorshkov stated that the railways on the territory of Azerbaijan are inactive to a significant degree, and this is being reflected negatively in the economic activity of several regions of the Russian Federation. Aleksandr Vlasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia, expressed the view that republican and local bodies ought to act more resolutely to avert strikes.

For his part, Deputy Yuriy Spiridonov, 1st secretary of the Komi Oblast party committee, called for a respectful attitude to the workers' movement, including the striking variety.

The session instructed the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic to adopt urgent measures to stop the strike in Vorkuta. The Presidium of the Russian parliament was also instructed to appeal to the parliament of Azerbaijan to ensure order on that republic's railways, from the inactivity of which other regions of the country are suffering.

Deputies stressed in the course of the debate that the demand for production discipline and order does not mean a call for a firm hand and the curtailment of democracy; it is merely the condition for the normal functioning of the national economy. That is also the aim of many laws and legal and economic levers, which will make it possible in the future to effectively tackle both immediate and longterm tasks.

The session has completed its work.

Armenian Supreme Soviet To Convene 30 Nov

NC3011074589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Attention, attention! Attention deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic has decided to convene the adjourned 10th Session of the 11th Convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet today at 1400 in Stepan Shaumyan Hall, 48 Marshal Bagramyan Avenue.

A report will be delivered during the session on the measures taken by the USSR Supreme Soviet on normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and on the results of the debate on the issue.

[Signed] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic.

NKAO Decision To Be Discussed

NC3011080389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A consultative meeting was held yesterday at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters between the directors of enterprises, institutes of higher education, and mass media, and secretaries of the party organizations.

Suren Arutyunyan, Armenian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, spoke at the meeting. He briefed those present on details of the results of the deliberations during the USSR Supreme Soviet session. This session also debated the issue of measures to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

There was a sharp, principled exchange during the consultative meeting. Certain comrades expressed their views on the issue in connection with the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The meeting's participants defended the decision by the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to reconvene the Supreme Soviet of Armenia on 30 November and to deliberate the results of the USSR Supreme Soviet session's debate on measures to normalize the situation in the NKAO.

Members and candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau also took part in the consultative meeting.

Armenians, Azeris Protest NKAO Order

AU3011084389 Paris AFP in English 0025 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 30 (AFP)—Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated Wednesday [29 November] evening in Yerevan, capital of Armenia, and Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, against a recent order issued by the Supreme Soviet (parliament) on the dispute about Nagorno-Karabakh, nationalist sources said.

The sources in Yerevan said that 200,000 to 250,000 people had gathered there Wednesday evening at the call of the Armenian National Movement to denounce the order, before a Thursday meeting of the Armenian Parliament.

Movement official Babken Ararkstyan told AFP by telephone that the order was "a step backwards" and was tantamount to returning to the situation as it was at the very start of the Karabakh problem, almost two years ago.

The Supreme Soviet decided to end direct rule imposed on Nagorno-Karabkh in January in a bid to end the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over control of the territory.

Mr. Ararksyan said the order, which provides for abolition of the Special Administrative Committee for the disputed area set up by Moscow, did not contain any "political solution" that could settle the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. The latter is an autonomous region dependent on Azerbaijan, whose Armenian majority demands to be attached to Armenia. The Azerbaijanis strongly oppose this.

When asked about the possibility of a new status of "real autonomy" for Nagorno-Karabakh, Mr. Ararksyan said that would be only a "temporary solution that would satisfy neither the Armenians nor the Azeris".

In Baku, several hundred thousand people gathered Wednesday evening to denounce the Supreme Soviet's order, nationalist sources said.

A member of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, Saadek Radzhamov, told AFP by phone that the demonstrators had decided to pursue the strike launched last week "to the end".

The strike is aimed at getting Soviet deputies to reaffirm that Nagorno-Karabakh belongs to Azerbaijans. Mr. Radzhamov said that "We are not satisfied with this decree from the Supreme Soviet because it is a Moscow decision. We demand that all the problems be settled by Azerbaijan, as a sovereign republic".

Demonstrations Detailed

NC3011094489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] It is impossible to subjugate the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The Armenian population of Artsakh [NKAO] received with concern the USSR Supreme Soviet decision concerning measures to normalize the situation in the NKAO.

From the early morning, Stepanakert residents had gathered in groups in the different parts of the city. They fervently debated the decision which was adopted and has a direct bearing on the (?future) of the population of the region. They were unanimous in the view that the decision is not only absolutely incompatible with the interests of the Artsakh people, but even threatens their very existence.

Leonard Petrosyan, the chairman of the agroindustry of the NKAO, told an ARMENPRES correspondent that no Kharabakhian had ever expected such an intentionally unfavorable decision. He said: It appears to me that this decision will remain on paper, because our people do not endorse it. In fact, the central authorities, in trying to formulate the legal demands of the Armenian population of the NKAO in different terms, have again chosen the path of postponing a just solution to the NKAO problem. The fact that the Azerbaijan government, which so far has adamantly tried to convince the central authorities that there was no blockade of Armenia and the NKAO, has now undertaken to lift that blockade has created both amazement and doubt. Anyway, Artsakh has been under blockade for almost 70 years [as heard], but unfortunately the central authorities provide no political assessment in this regard. To me, as a deputy of the oblast soviet, the reinstatement of the oblast governing bodies does not seem possible. I repeat, this decision will

Such are the proposals of the party group, and I call upon you to support them.

And now I would like very briefly to speak about the first item on the agenda.

The BSSR Supreme Soviet has done a great deal of work and formulated and adopted the State Program for Elimination of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station]. Its realization will require the mobilization of immense forces and resources, a unification of efforts of the republic and local authorities and a tightening of supervision on the part of the commission of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and BSSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

I would remind you that the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee 15th Plenum defined the creation of safe conditions for people's activity in the areas affected by the accident as a most important program goal of the republic Communist Party.

This imposes on all of us the highest responsibility for the profoundly comprehended realization of the demands of the adopted document.

I believe that the USSR people's deputies from Belorussia and the BSSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Elimination of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES headed by Comrade Smolyar must do everything to ensure that this document be confirmed in the USSR Supreme Soviet and that it become law for the union ministries and departments which are the coexecutants of the program.

This essentially is the first and highly critical instruction to you the Belorussian people's elect in the country's highest organ of state power.

By "us" I refer to myself, Comrade Dementey, Comrade Kovalev, the USSR people's deputies, who have been with us here in the hall as guests for the third day now, and those who for various reasons were unable to attend this session.

I believe it will be the right thing for the USSR people's deputies to notify us of the work done on this issue in Moscow at a Soviet Belorussia Supreme Soviet session.

Thank you for your attention.

Gomel Obkom Elects New First Secretary

90UN0292B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 1

[BELTA report: "On an Alternative Basis"]

[Text] Gomel—A plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party obkom [oblast party committee] held here examined organizational matters. In connection with the election of A.S. Kamay as secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee he was relieved of his duties as first secretary and member of the bureau of the Gomel Obkom. A.A. Grakhovskiy, who had been chairman of the Gomel Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], was elected obkom first secretary.

In connection with the confirmation of S.P. Bobyr as chairman of the People's Control Committee Oblast Committee he was relieved of his duties as obkom secretary. The participants in the plenum were offered four candidates for this position: V.V. Velichko, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom; S. Selitskiy, first secretary of the Mozyr Gorkom [city party committee]; A.A. Kostyuchenko, first secretary of the Rechitskiy Gorkom; and O.N. Koshevenko, head of the obkom Ideology Department.

V.V. Velichko was elected obkom secretary by majority vote.

The plenum was addressed by N.S. Igrunov, second secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. The attention of the obkom members and the communists of the oblast party organization was called to the need for a persistent mastery of political methods of work. Together with the prompter solution of current topical matters, preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress, realization of the political and economic reforms, and legal support for perestroyka were put at the center of the party committees' entire activity.

A.S. Kamay, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and A.S. Korshikov, senior organizer of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum.

Aleksandr Adamovich Grakhovskiy, first secretary of the Gomel Obkom

Born in 1938, a Belorussian, he has been a member of the CPSU since 1962 and is a graduate of the Belorussian Agricultural Academy and the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, mechanical engineering being his special field.

He began his working life in 1959 as an engineer at the "Sovetskaya Belorussiya" kolkhoz [collective farm] of Gomel Oblast's Kalinkovichskiy Rayon and subsequently worked as engineer of the "Golevichi" sovkhoz [state farm], head of the repair workshop and chief engineer of the "Dudichi" and "Kalinkovichskiy" sovkhozes of Kalinkovichskiy Rayon. In 1965 he was appointed manager of the Yelskiy Rayon "Selkhoztekhnika" Association, and in 1968, deputy chairman of the Gomel Oblast "Selkhoztekhnika" Association.

In 1970 Comrade A.A. Grakhovskiy was elected second secretary of the Buda-Koshelevskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], and a year later, chairman of the Buda-Koshelevskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee. In 1974 he was confirmed deputy minister of agriculture of the BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic].

Following graduation in 1981 from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, he worked as deputy chairman of the BSSR State Committee for Industrial-Engineering Supply for Agriculture and deputy minister of agriculture of the BSSR—chairman of "Belselkhozkhimiya"—the republic production-scientific association for agrochemical service of agriculture. In 1983 he was elected first deputy chairman of the Gomel Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]—chairman of the Agro-Industrial Association Council. As of 1985, chairman of the Gomel Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee.

Comrade A.A. Grakhovskiy is a member of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and people's deputy of the USSR. He has had conferred on him an order of Lenin, two orders of the Labor Red Banner, an order of the "Badge of Honor" and two medals.

Corruption Trial Opens in Tashkent

LD2911135289 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Tashkent November 29 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Iskander Khisamov:

Former chief of Uzbekistan's Navoi Regional Party Committee Vasily Yesin has gone on trial in Tashkent, the capital of this Central Asian republic.

The latest action is one in a series of "cotton trials" in connection with corruption and embezzlement involving several high-ranking state and party officials in Uzbekistan.

Yesin is accused of taking bribes from his subordinates in 1982-1983 when he was No 1 in the Navoi region.

According to the prosecution, the total sum of bribes taken by the defendant is 68,000 roubles.

He is also charged with giving 30,960 roubles to Leonid Brezhnev's son-in-law Yuriy Churbanov who served at that time as first deputy interior minister of the USSR.

"This is a very interesting situation," presiding judge Satymbek Dulatbekov told TASS. "Churbanov was found by the USSR Supreme Court to be guilty of accepting that bribe. But Churbanov's conviction does not predetermine Yesin's guilt.

"The court is to pass its own ruling on this episode. Churbanov will be summoned to testify."

First Secretary of the Tashkent Regional Party Committee Mirzamakhmud Musakhanov went on trial in Dushanbe, the capital of the neighbouring republic of Tadzhikistan, on bribery charges

Inamzhon Usmankhodzhayev, former first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party's Central Committee, will soon be brought to trial as well.

Curfew Hours Reduced in Fergana, Other Cities

LD2911183489 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Nov 89 p3

[Excerpts] The curfew in Fergana, Margilan, Kokand, and other "hot points" of the June events has been reduced to 3 hours—from 0200 until 0500. [passage omitted]

Another characteristic sign of the improvement in the situation is the reduced migration of people. All enterprises of the oblast are working normally.

Girenko Views National Relations Body

PM2911213689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by V. Poshatayev and A. Chernyak, based on readers' questions, under the rubric "The Party and Perestroyka": "Our Common Home"; date, place not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA's editorial mail includes many letters in which readers raise various questions of interethnic relations. Communists and all Soviet people greeted with interest the CPSU platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Present Conditions," adopted at the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum. One step toward the implementation of this program and the improvement of party leadership in the sphere in question was the creation of the Department of National Relations at the CPSU Central Committee. At PRAVDA's request, A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, talks about the new subunit's tasks in resolving interethnic problems.

[Question] Andrey Nikolayevich, the CPSU Central Committee Department of National Relations has only just been set up. What specifically will it do, and what, in fact, is it already doing?

[Girenko] There is only too much to do, in fact. Today our common home is like an agitated beehive. To be more specific, the range of tasks is already defined in the department's title—national relations, that is, relations between people of different nationalities who differ in their traditions, customs, and views, which have been developed and assimilated over many generations. The priority task is organizational work to fulfill political decisions and resolutions of the party Central Committee. I would like to stress that the old "apparatus" methods are not appropriate here. In order more actively to influence the current far from simple processes, what is needed is a profound study of the peculiarities of each national region. A study of the history of the peoples inhabiting the region and their culture and mutual relations. Naturally, you cannot find out about all this by sitting in your office, without direct contact with people. The department will only be able to cope with its tasks if it constantly maintains communications and calls on the support of the party committees and their experience in its work.

The department's functions include the analysis and forecasting of the development of national and international [internatsionalnnye] processes, the study of the work style and methods of party organs in this area, the coordination of their efforts, and the summarization and dissemination of experience. That is, our main task is the practical implementation of the CPSU platform on nationalities policy in present conditions.

[Question] And what is the composition of the new department? Who is working there?

[Girenko] We have developed on the basis of the subdepartment for interethnic relations, which was part of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department. The structure stems from the tasks facing us. Three subunits are being formed. The workers in one of them will be concerned with questions of the union republics, taking into account regional peculiarities. After all, the problems of the Baltic region, the Ukraine, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Transcaucasus, and other republics have their own distinctive features and peculiarities.

Another subunit will focus on the Russian Federation and the autonomous formations and national groups of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. I think that is quite logical. The republic is the most multinational, it includes 31 autonomous formations, and with a population that varies greatly in ethnic terms, and therefore also in terms of language, religion, way of life, and traditions. Well, for instance, the Northern people and the inhabitants of the Volga region. Or take the Northern Caucasus. There are more than 40 nationalities there. And each has its own history, its own destiny, its own problems today. Naturally, these problems must be resolved in the light of each people's peculiarities.

Very important tasks are entrusted to yet another subunit. They include scientific studies, forecasting, the study of the general problems of nationalities policy, and the coordination of efforts with institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, and other scientific institutions, including those in union and autonomous republics. The group incorporates a methodological office which gathers and disseminates the experience of party committees. Party workers will be able to obtain from us answers to the questions that will inevitably arise. After all, it is well known that the political situation in the country and in certain regions is dynamic, constantly changing, yet the measures adopted by party organs frequently lag behind. This defect can only be overcome on the basis of profound study of the situation, forecasting, and the formulation of competent and, most importantly, timely recommendations. Only then will we be able, instead of following in the wake of events, to preempt them, or at least to keep pace with real life.

From the outset we are trying to rally well-known scientists and specialists in these problems around the department. Some experience of this work has already been accumulated in the course of preparations for the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum—during the drafting of the party platform on nationalities policy. At that time a number of scientific conferences were held both in Moscow and in various regions of the country (in Uzbekistan and in the Ukraine). Scientists were able to express their opinion at the "roundtables" held by PRAVDA with the participation of our workers. Similar roundtables were held at the editorial offices of other central newspapers, journals, radio, and television.

Experts in the most diverse fields (ethnographers, linguists, historians, and so forth) became involved in the study of interethnic relations in particular regions of the country. I think that in future such contacts will not only continue, but will be further developed. We will also strengthen our permanent working links with the press and all the mass media.

[Question] The unique nature of the tasks facing the department evidently also imposes demands as regards the selection of staffers....

[Girenko] Yes, indeed, special demands are made on the department's workers. First, they must be people with experience of practical work in the union and autonomous republics and familiar with the specific national problems at first hand. But also, of course, they must have a proven ability to make use of theory in resolving practical tasks. The department includes, of course, representatives of various nationalities in our country. And this is not an end in itself, it is dictated by the nature of the tasks facing the department.

[Question] Will similar subunits be set up locally?

[Girenko] Yes, they may be set up at the discretion of party committees. Naturally, within the framework of existing staffing levels and wage funds.

[Question] But will not these subunits duplicate the work of state organs that are concerned with the same problems?

[Girenko] We must not allow a repetition of the mistakes made in the past, when the party apparatus supplanted the soviet organs. At the same time it is more important today than ever before to ensure closer coordination of the actions of party and soviet organs. And not only in drafting legislative acts, but also in cases involving conflict situations in a particular region. As you know, several commissions on nationalities policy and interethnic relations have been set up under the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities. We are trying to work in the closest possible contact with them, and we want local party organs to support constructive initiatives from the deputies' commissions.

It is no secret that at the moment proposals put forward by commissions on, say, meeting the just demands of formerly repressed peoples do not meet with the same response everywhere. And major work lies ahead here both for the body of deputies and for local party committees, to promote the resolution of these complex questions. Duplication should also be avoided because the sphere of interethnic relations is so complex and multifaceted, and everyone who becomes involved in resolving its problems has the opportunity to use his own methods.

[Question] Apparently the department is not only to react to complications in the sphere of interethnic relations, but also to predict possible deteriorations in them. Which regions do you regard as the most "difficult" and explosive?

[Girenko] Yes, you are right, the department's work is to include the accurate analysis of the situation in a given republic or region at any given moment, and familiarity with the causes of a conflict situation. If this condition is met, we will be able to forecast events.

As for the second part of your question, it is true that the attention of all Soviet people has been well and truly fixed on a number of regions recently. The way events are developing in the Baltic republics, for instance, is complex and far from straightforward. There is no reason to say that these events are departing from the mainstream of perestroyka, but these are not grounds for complacency. It must be observed here that in the midst of the broad stream of perestroyka processes, extremist and nationalist slogans also appear and forces that pursue their own quite clear political goals make their presence felt. The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh has continued unabated for a long time.

Events in both Transcaucasia and the Baltic region show that although they are expressed in the deterioration of national relations, they have their own specific origins and peculiarities, their different aspects—historical, social, demographic, linguistic. This must be taken into account. This is the approach toward which the CPSU platform guides us. Today, now that democratization and glasnost are the norm in our life, national problems are taking the most diverse forms in different republics. Many of them existed before, but were not tackled promptly, and were sometimes ignored or driven inward.

[Question] PRAVDA receives letters in which readers express fears that with the adoption of laws on state languages in the republics, interethnic communication will become more difficult and the zone of utilization of the Russian language will be narrowed.

[Girenko] That concern is very natural. But in my view it is not prompted by the actual fact of the adoption of laws on state languages in a number of republics. After all, in certain union and autonomous republics (Georgia, Azerbaijan, Abkhazia) the languages of the indigenous nationalities were declared the state languages even before, and this is enshrined in their constitutions, and it did not worry anyone. So it is not a question of the law, but of how it is put into practice, what kind of work is done in relation to the law and in what way, and how the equality of languages is ensured in practice. Even if you are guided by the best intentions and desires, you cannot infringe the rights and functions of the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

That also applies in full to Russian, which is used as the means of statewide and interethnic communication. It must only be borne in mind that no one ever imposed it on other peoples in the USSR by means of directives. It became the language of interethnic communication in our country by virtue of objective historical circumstances, because of the peoples' own longing for communication and for access to world cultural assets, and this was of fundamental significance in the development of the culture of what were formerly remote national districts. All the people of our country have a vital interest in having a means of interethnic communication, and by virtue of objective factors, Russian has become this means in our conditions. The reality is that thanks to this language all Soviet people have the opportunity to make far wider and fuller use of their resources and knowledge and to gain access to the assets of our country's and the world's science and culture. Anyone who thinks otherwise is deliberately impoverishing himself.

[Question] Some citizens believe that changing the borders between national-territorial structures within our country could be a universal panacea...

[Girenko] Such things are said. What lies behind them? Perhaps a sincere delusion that you only have to "free" a republic from representatives of other peoples or change the borders, and all the problems will resolve themselves. But you have to understand that the nationalities question in its pure form does not exist. The processes that take place on the basis of nationality always have a real socioeconomic basis too. And calling for them to be settled by recarving borders or seceding from the Union constitutes an attempt to distract the people from resolving the main problems. This is either an unconscious delusion, or disregard for the vital interests of people's lives and an attempt to push them into irresponsible actions with consequences that are hard to predict. The solution is not to recarve borders, but to give real meaning to the rights of national formations. The CPSU Central Committee September Plenum came out quite unequivocally on this question.

[Question] Andrey Nikolayevich, in that case, will we be able to resolve the problem of the full rehabilitation of the Soviet Germans and other peoples who were repressed during the years of the personality cult?

[Girenko] Are you referring to the restoration of the autonomous formation that was abolished during those years?

[Question] Yes.

[Girenko] That action must be regarded not as a recarving of borders, but as a rectification of an unlawful act perpetrated in the past. After all, not for nothing did the USSR Supreme Soviet session deem it necessary to adopt a declaration on recognizing as unlawful and criminal the repressive acts against peoples who were subjected to forcible resettlements and on ensuring their rights. However, the restoration of justice must without fail take into account the realities of the present day, the interests of all the peoples involved in the situation in question, and the probable consequences for people's lives. After all, nearly 50 years have passed since the abolition of the Germans' autonomous formation on the Volga. In that time an entirely new demographic, territorial, and national situation has grown up there. It is therefore necessary to define carefully and authoritatively the stages, means, and time scale for the resolution of this problem. The main thing is that the restoration of the autonomous formation should organically promote the resolution of the general tasks of perestroyka, so that both the Soviet Germans and the population now living in the former territory of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic have an interest in it. That is the approach reflected in the CPSU platform.

[Question] In recent years we have witnessed a clash of interests between various peoples in our country. Relations between them have deteriorated in a number of places. What steps, in your view, must be undertaken to eliminate such contradictions?

[Girenko] First let us clarify the most characteristic causes of the deterioration in relations between individual people: mass repressions of people and their consequences, the extensive industrial and economic development of national territories without regard for social and ecological consequences, and demographic processes. Indifference to these problems and the reluctance to tackle them have generated a sense of grievance and created a breeding ground for national extremism.

The CPSU platform outlined the main avenues for overcoming these contradictions. Effective state, social, and economic mechanisms are to be set up to ensure the harmonization of national and international values and interests. This can only be achieved through the democratization of society and the establishment of the people's self-management. I wish to stress particularly—Soviet society and socialist self-management.

This means improving our federation, extending the rights of all forms of autonomous formation, ensuring equal rights for all peoples, creating the conditions for the free development of national languages and cultures, and strengthening guarantees against the infringement of citizens' rights on national grounds. Much has to be done to renew ideological and political work in the sphere of national relations, establish mutual respect for historical traditions and national peculiarities, ensure that every people's economic and spiritual interests are taken into account, and improve the general level of political culture.

The platform's ideas should be put into practice in our lives through the activity of every Communist and every citizen, be he a worker or collective farm member, scientist or writer, public official, or people's deputy.

And then our Union will indeed become a common home, a real home, for all the people living in it.

Foreign Policy Said To Provide Benefits

90UI0119A Moscow TRUD in Russian
10 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by P. Vorobyev: "Efforts and Results Which We Get From an Active Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Against the background of our internal problems which are complex and grow more complicated the question might arise: is the Soviet government paying too much attention to international affairs? I do not know if any public opinion polls have been conducted that would determine how widespread feelings of such singular "isolationism" are. I think, however, that right now there is less of a basis for that kind of feeling. It is precisely of late that USSR's foreign policy is being conducted not only effectively, but, I would say, profitably.

Let us note, for example, a result of our foreign policy efforts such as financial savings, which in our current situation is important in and of itself.

Nineteen eighty-nine was the first year when a considerable reduction in our defense expenditures became possible. We began the withdrawal of Soviet military units from Eastern Europe and we reduced our military presence in Mongolia. The overall reduction in the personnel of our military forces, as announced, will be 500 thousand people.

The reduction in the military, of course, poses a number of social problems for the government and society connected with job placement and housing for members of the military who will be transferred to the reserve. But, in general, each of us gains from the cuts in military expenditures and, consequently, from the reduction of the budget deficit. And the effects of that deficit on the economy are well known today.

The real possibility of a further decrease in our military forces is unfolding before us. It will be the result of negotiations on nuclear arms and conventional armed forces which may be signed as early as next year. Seemingly, our partners in those negotiations are focusing their attention on these same questions. As a result, a tendency to cut military expenditures is becoming obvious in the United States and some other NATO countries.

In particular, there will in all likelihood be cuts in expenditures this year for the "strategic defense initiative". This creation of the previous American administration threatened not only to undermine strategic stability, but also to become a means of pumping huge sums and resources out of the economy (both of the United States and, possibly even more so, ours). Today this danger does not seem as critical as it did even two or three years ago. It is possible that SDI could become just a scientific-technological program, a research project. In any case, it is highly unlikely that in the near future such anti-missile systems would be deployed that would require a corresponding response from our side.

In the last two years the actions of the American side in this respect have tended to become more and more realistic. This allowed us also to adjust our position on the problems of anti-ballistic missile defense [ABM]. This adjustment was reflected in the recent talks between the USSR and US ministers of foreign affairs. We do not feel any more that an agreement on strategic offensive weapons [SOA] should directly depend on the decision on ABM. We have removed the provision on the coordinated non-withdrawal from the treaty. One condition remained: that the sides observe the ABM treaty at least for the duration of the agreement on SOA. It is quite a sensible condition and seems that it might be acceptable for the Americans.

There are a number of important problems that remain to be solved as we move toward agreements on considerable reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons. It cannot be ruled out that this will require more time than we would like. The very process of destroying weapons also costs money. But there definitely will be a savings. But more importantly, there will be indirect savings. For instance, the current improved atmosphere has already allowed us to make the decision, important from a social and economic point of view, to return students, called up in the army, to their studies.

Lately, the opinion has also been advanced that a decisive approach to arms reduction is required, first and foremost by taking unilateral measures. Academician A. Sakharov suggested halving the term of service in the military forces. Repeated unilateral reduction of our strategic forces is also proposed.

These views deserve serious analysis and serious discussion. I give as an example one of many contrary opinions. Unilateral decisions of such a scale can hardly be sufficiently reliable or durable. The safety of the country in today's hard-to-predict world could be called into question and there would not be a solid agreement ensuring the reciprocal and, what is very important, the irrevocable character of the measures taken. International agreements are still more reliable in every respect. We must insistently seek international agreements, but when necessary to provide impetus, the adoption of unilateral measures is possible.

This year was marked by withdrawal of the last of the Soviet forces from Afganistan. Other regional conflicts, participation in which has placed quite a heavy burden on our budget, are being settled with more or less progress. However, it is very important to create and legally strengthen a certain mechanism which would protect our country from being drawn into situations that could bring us human, moral, and economic losses.

Yet another achievement this year was the normalization of relations with China as well as with Iran. Friction with our very different neighbors over the course of a number of years created many problems, including economic costs. The opportunity now arises in the years and decades ahead to set up mutually profitable cooperation, that is, to create a solid foundation for political relations with these countries. It is true that some people object and criticize that idea due to their disagreement with the internal political decisions made by the governments of the countries in question. They say that certain aspects of our policy in relations with those countries are unethical. I do not think that ethics are necessarily manifested precisely in censure. This might be the easiest and most impressive way, but it is also dangerous. It can hardly help anyone, but could lead to the destruction of an edifice that has just been restored. You cannot be ethical without being realistic.

This year was remarkable for diverse events in the countries of Eastern Europe and in a number of our republics, demonstrating another effect of the USSR's new foreign policy. It is imperceptible at first glance, but very important in its essence. The complex processes mentioned above would, without a doubt unfold in a more dangerous way if the Western governments were to interfere in them actively. Meanwhile, their reaction grows all the more balanced and concerned.

Take, for instance, the attitude of the West towards the events in the Soviet Baltic republics. Of course, there are forces in a number of countries, especially in the United States, which strive to support separatist tendencies. The official position of the United States of "non-acceptance" of the Baltic republics as part of the USSR remains in force. But let us pay attention to the statements of Secretary of State Baker who says that the United States does not aspire to "destabilize the USSR", that they do not want to assist in "dissolution of the Soviet federation." And this is understandable: in that case perestroyka's chances for success would be undermined and American officials speak more and more distinctly of their interest in that success. Such pronouncements are not accidental. I think they should cool the hot heads of those who start talking about separation from the USSR while pinning their hopes on "billions from overseas." So, the external conditions under which our country is working hard on perestroyka are rather favorable. For the Soviet people they are outright profitable. Was it easy to create such conditions? No, it was not. You get positive results in international affairs only after huge and really laborious efforts. They must be continued and multiplied so that they bring completely tangible profits.

Medvedev Addresses Science Academy Conference

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28 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Primary Organizations Given the Floor"]

The restructuring of the party has indeed taken center stage today. You may sometimes hear that everything should have begun with this. However, this question's priority today, the speaker pointed out, has been determined by the logic of society's development in the first 4 and ½ years of renewal. In this connection he dwelt on the specific features of the stages of perestroyka, singling out 1987 as a crucial year, when questions of the democratization of society and the party became the center of practical policy. That was the first principled formulation of the problem of the need for radical political reform, V.A. Medvedev said. Consideration of the ways to transform the political system of society made it necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of not only the stagnant period but also earlier stages in our development. Correspondingly, the real process of transforming political and economic structures began in 1988 in connection with the decisions of the 19th party conference. Could the question of restructuring the work of the party itself have been raised earlier prior to the creation of definite political and economic structures in society? In the ideological context, in the context of escaping from dogmatism, yes, but in the organizational context a certain degree of consistency undoubtedly had to be observed.

Now we can and must speed up the restructuring of the party in close connection with the restructuring of our entire social mechanism.

Emphasizing attention on the essence of the current moment, the speaker pointed out that the deepening of the perestroyka process is accompanied by a buildup of social tension and increased difficulties, above all in the socioeconomic sphere. We must analyze, he said, what is connected with the actual transformation process and what is connected with inadequate actions and concrete decisions. We must seek a way out of this situation since it gives rise to great social agitation, is accompanied by trenchant debates, and provokes an increase in definite suspicion and mistrust in society. This situation reveals vested interests, bares social nerves, and brings about dissatisfaction with the progress of perestroyka and a sharp polarization of opinion. Moreover, these extreme views foster and provoke one another and at the same time obtain an outlet in criticism of perestroyka and those people who are involved in and lead it.

Two trends in social mentality attract particular attention. On the one hand, the conservative dogmatic trend. It contains a broad spectrum ranging from manifestations of narrow-minded mentality to various kinds of theoretical and ideological studies. But they all agree that perestroyka is the cause of all our troubles and strife and also engage in conjecture that it was palmed off on us by the West with all the attributes of a bourgeois democracy, a market, cooperation, and so on. Hence the idea that is sometimes bandied about: Should perestroyka not be retarded or simply overturned? I believe, V.A. Medvedev said, that this is a dangerous, hopeless, and untenable stance. Our main difficulties arose over decades of stagnation and the operation of the adminstrative edict system. Every sensible person must realize that the longer the process of change is dragged out, the more agonizing the way out of the crisis could be.

Left-radical sentiments are another plus. There is also a broad spectrum of opinion here. Dissatisfaction with the pace and results of perestroyka and demands for more decisiveness make themselves felt. There is, of course, nothing reprehensible in this. Progress along the path of perestroyka must indeed be accelerated. But at the same time there are extreme opinions that everything must be started over from the beginning, we must renounce our 70 years of development and return to February 1917, nearly to Stolypin even. The very choice and the very foundations of socialist development are being subjected to doubt, it is claimed that we are going nowhere, and bourgeois liberal models are proposed instead, at best with a dash of social democratic notions of society.

What is our stance in this range of opinion? We do indeed need to substantially revise views of contemporary socialist society; we do not need to renew but to carry out the in-depth reconstruction of our social edifice, on socialist principles moreover. Although, when creating modern ideas about socialism, we must not of course solely be guided by the experience of socialist countries but also by the experience of the nonsocialist world, including ideas of contemporary social democracy. Continuing perestroyka, we must correct the socioeconomic situation and strive to stabilize interethnic relations. This is our most immediate task, moreover.

The processes of restructuring the work of the party, V.A. Medvedev continued, must, without fail, proceed more actively. The party must set an example of renewal, above all in the ideological context. Dwelling on the question of the convocation of the 28th party congress, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that life dictated that the congress should be brought forward 6 months, which illustrates that the decisions of the 19th party conference, not to mention the version of and changes to the CPSU program and statutes adopted by the previous congress, have already grown outmoded to some extent.

Proposals can still be heard regarding the convocation of an extraordinary party congress. I believe, V.A. Medvedev said, that the coming congress will be unusual in terms of significance and extraordinary in terms of essence. But it cannot be hasty since serious program documents that answer present-day questions and provide correct orientation in our work must be drafted in time for it. It is above all a question of a document that will have the significance of a party action program for the coming period of perestroyka. Its elaboration involves considerable difficulties since many processes have still not matured and are in embryo and it is not that easy to distinguish between things which belong to the future and things which are of a temporary transitory character and will be swept aside by the very logic of perestroyka.

A new CPSU Statute is also necessary. Not amendments, not individual improvements but a new statute which

The restructuring of the party has indeed taken center stage today. You may sometimes hear that everything should have begun with this. However, this question's priority today, the speaker pointed out, has been determined by the logic of society's development in the first 4 and ½ years of renewal. In this connection he dwelt on the specific features of the stages of perestroyka, singling out 1987 as a crucial year, when questions of the democratization of society and the party became the center of practical policy. That was the first principled formulation of the problem of the need for radical political reform, V.A. Medvedev said. Consideration of the ways to transform the political system of society made it necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of not only the stagnant period but also earlier stages in our development. Correspondingly, the real process of transforming political and economic structures began in 1988 in connection with the decisions of the 19th party conference. Could the question of restructuring the work of the party itself have been raised earlier prior to the creation of definite political and economic structures in society? In the ideological context, in the context of escaping from dogmatism, yes, but in the organizational context a certain degree of consistency undoubtedly had to be observed.

Now we can and must speed up the restructuring of the party in close connection with the restructuring of our entire social mechanism.

Emphasizing attention on the essence of the current moment, the speaker pointed out that the deepening of the perestroyka process is accompanied by a buildup of social tension and increased difficulties, above all in the socioeconomic sphere. We must analyze, he said, what is connected with the actual transformation process and what is connected with inadequate actions and concrete decisions. We must seek a way out of this situation since it gives rise to great social agitation, is accompanied by trenchant debates, and provokes an increase in definite suspicion and mistrust in society. This situation reveals vested interests, bares social nerves, and brings about dissatisfaction with the progress of perestroyka and a sharp polarization of opinion. Moreover, these extreme views foster and provoke one another and at the same time obtain an outlet in criticism of perestroyka and those people who are involved in and lead it.

Two trends in social mentality attract particular attention. On the one hand, the conservative dogmatic trend. It contains a broad spectrum ranging from manifestations of narrow-minded mentality to various kinds of theoretical and ideological studies. But they all agree that perestroyka is the cause of all our troubles and strife and also engage in conjecture that it was palmed off on us by the West with all the attributes of a bourgeois democracy, a market, cooperation, and so on. Hence the idea that is sometimes bandied about: Should perestroyka not be retarded or simply overturned? I believe, V.A. Medvedev said, that this is a dangerous, hopeless, and untenable stance. Our main difficulties arose over decades of stagnation and the operation of the administrative edict system. Every sensible person must realize that the longer the process of change is dragged out, the more agonizing the way out of the crisis could be.

Left-radical sentiments are another plus. There is also a broad spectrum of opinion here. Dissatisfaction with the pace and results of perestroyka and demands for more decisiveness make themselves felt. There is, of course, nothing reprehensible in this. Progress along the path of perestroyka must indeed be accelerated. But at the same time there are extreme opinions that everything must be started over from the beginning, we must renounce our 70 years of development and return to February 1917, nearly to Stolypin even. The very choice and the very foundations of socialist development are being subjected to doubt, it is claimed that we are going nowhere, and bourgeois liberal models are proposed instead, at best with a dash of social democratic notions of society.

What is our stance in this range of opinion? We do indeed need to substantially revise views of contemporary socialist society; we do not need to renew but to carry out the in-depth reconstruction of our social edifice, on socialist principles moreover. Although, when creating modern ideas about socialism, we must not of course solely be guided by the experience of socialist countries but also by the experience of the nonsocialist world, including ideas of contemporary social democracy. Continuing perestroyka, we must correct the socioeconomic situation and strive to stabilize interethnic relations. This is our most immediate task, moreover.

The processes of restructuring the work of the party, V.A. Medvedev continued, must, without fail, proceed more actively. The party must set an example of renewal, above all in the ideological context. Dwelling on the question of the convocation of the 28th party congress, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that life dictated that the congress should be brought forward 6 months, which illustrates that the decisions of the 19th party conference, not to mention the version of and changes to the CPSU program and statutes adopted by the previous congress, have already grown outmoded to some extent.

Proposals can still be heard regarding the convocation of an extraordinary party congress. I believe, V.A. Medvedev said, that the coming congress will be unusual in terms of significance and extraordinary in terms of essence. But it cannot be hasty since serious program documents that answer present-day questions and provide correct orientation in our work must be drafted in time for it. It is above all a question of a document that will have the significance of a party action program for the coming period of perestroyka. Its elaboration involves considerable difficulties since many processes have still not matured and are in embryo and it is not that easy to distinguish between things which belong to the future and things which are of a temporary transitory character and will be swept aside by the very logic of perestroyka.

A new CPSU Statute is also necessary. Not amendments, not individual improvements but a new statute which would open up the possibility of the radical renewal and democratization of the party. Without doubt, party committees at all levels must also be renewed and new people nominated who have already proved their worth and whom we also see within the corps of USSR people's deputies and in public organizations, both traditional and new.

The point of restructuring the party, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said, is to transform it from an organization above everything and everyone into the political vanguard of society—the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia. The party is not evading responsibility and rejecting the role of ruling party in this case but is exercising it in strict accordance with the law and the principles of a rule-of-law state and a civic society.

Renewal within the party signifies most substantial changes throughout the system of intraparty relations. This includes their consistent democratization, guaranteed pluralism of opinion, and respect for the opinion of the minority. Perestroyka within the party also involves establishing a democratic mechanism for forming elective organs and monitoring their activity, the substantial redistribution of prerogatives and functions between various levels of party organism in favor of the localities, and a definite increase in the role of primary party organizations. The rights of the union republics' communist parties and autonomous republics' party organizations must be substantially broadened. The party structure must not automatically follow the structure of the state system. The party is in essence an internationalist organism.

Life also makes it necessary for us, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out, to generally revise the 1977 Constitution, which reflected to a considerable extent the special features of the psychology of the time. Many of its sections and articles, primarily those which are of the nature of a sociopolitical declaration, do not accord with contemporary realities. At the same time, in the speaker's opinion, it is inadvisable to select individual articles outside an overall conceptual approach to our country's Fundamental Law.

We are not evading debating the party's role in society, we are only opposed to exploitation of this debate and the thesis of a multiparty system for speculative purposes. I believe, V.A. Medvedev said, that in the overwhelming majority of cases the natural desire of people who want one thing—the presence in society of constant dialogue, comparison of opinions, and mutual control—is behind the turbulent discussion of these problems. We are in favor, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, of the party itself finding the reserves for democratic development—both its own and that of society as a whole—in our acute time. We have only just embarked on this path and the possibilities here are truly inexhaustible.

V.A. Medvedev answered numerous questions from the conference participants.

Agricultural

CPSU Leaders Tour Farms, Enterprises

PM2911113589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Learning How To Work in the New Conditions"]

[Text] Secretaries of union republic central committees and kray and oblast party committees [kraykoms, obkoms] in charge of questions relating to the agro-industrial complex are attending a course of study at the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Leading Party and Soviet Cadres.

The main topic of their studies is the provision of organizational and political backup for the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum and the improvement of party committees' work style and methods in the new conditions.

One group of students spent 3 days learning about the work of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic's Vitebsk Oblast party organization. They visited collective and state farms [kolkhozes, sovkhozes], science and production organizations, food industry enterprises, and the stores and homes of kolkhoz members. The oblast's Communists and labor collectives have done much in recent years to improve the population's food supply by utilizing local resources.

The increase in agricultural output on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and rural subsidiary plots belonging to enterprises and citizens is being accompanied by an expansion in the capacities of the storage and processing base.

Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, accompanied the group of party committee secretaries in Vitebsk Oblast. He had been on a similar trip to the surroundings of Moscow the day before. Summing up the results of the study course during his visit to primary party organizations and labor collectives of agro-industrial complex enterprises, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted the Vitebsk Oblast party organization's comprehensive approach to tackling the food question and the vanguard role being played by rural Communists.

He drew the students' attention to the oblast's consistent implementation of agricultural production specialization, concentration, and cooperation and to the close link existing between science and practice, which had, in particular, received concrete expression in the creation of scientific production systems and associations in various agricultural sectors.

New forms of economic activity, full economic accountability, leasing, and the cooperative system are being assimilated and production management is being improved on a democratic basis.

It was recommended that family farms be utilized more fully as a means of augmenting food resources.

The close attention paid by the oblast party organization to rapidly developing and retooling processing enterprises is a positive feature of its activity. The target set for commissioning industrial capacities for the first 4 years of the 5-year plan has been overfulfilled.

The oblast cities' industrial enterprises are making a substantial contribution to strengthening the agricultural products storage and processing base and increasing food resources. Last year they invested around R30 million in the agro-industrial complex. Various forms of cooperation between industry and agriculture are undergoing development. It was noted that this kind of cooperation should be built upon a voluntary, mutually beneficial basis.

The oblast party organization's experience of work in providing the countryside with social amenities and creating good working and living conditions for people deserves to be widely disseminated.

Ye.K. Ligachev stressed the need to direct party committees' organizational and political work in preparation for the next CPSU congress toward solving social problems and improving the population's food supply. It was also said that discipline and good organization and order ensuring that citizens are safe and are able to live and work normally are more necessary than ever before.

The participants in the study course saw for themselves yet again through the oblast's example what great potential the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system possesses. Wherever they carry out their work correctly, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are reliable suppliers of food. This conviction was borne out during a visit to food stores and in conversations with the inhabitants of the oblast center.

Ye.K. Ligachev addressed the oblast party aktiv and answered numerous questions.

A second group of students along with CPSU Central Committee Secretary Ye.S. Stroyev were in Kiev Oblast. Acquainting themselves with the experience of intensifying the grain sector and the social provisions for rural workers, they visited the "Ploskovskiy" State Pedigree Stock Farm in Brovarskiy Rayon and a number of farms in Baryshevskiy and Vasilkovskiy Rayons. The results of the work of grain growers in Kiev Oblast, who obtained an average 38.4 quintals of grain per hectare this year, were examined at a seminar. At the Ukrainian Agricultural Scientific Research Institute seminar participants took an interest in the features of the soil-protection contour-cultivation system of land improvement developed by Ukrainian scientists and looked around an exhibition of samples of new strains of crops.

The seminar participants were addressed by Ye.S. Stroyev. The transformation of production relations and the development of the most diverse forms of ownership in conformity with local conditions represent the main thrust at the present stage of perestroyka, he observed. Leasing based on purchase and sale principles should be introduced more extensively and persistently.

The basic task in agriculture is to boost grain output. The experience of pace-setting farms in Kiev Oblast is evidence of the great potential for solving it. To produce a universal increase in output it necessary to develop the kind of economic mechanism which provides the producers—leaseholders, machine operators, and the collectives of kolkhozes and sovkhozes—with an incentive to increase output. It is essential to approach the development of the system of planning, purchasing, and utilizing grain in a well-considered way, to expand the area of cereals cultivated by intensive techniques to at least 60 million hectares, to increase gross corn harvests to 30-40 million tonnes, and to set up the production of equipment and machinery whose quality meets the best world standards.

Enormous losses are caused by shortage of transport and reliable storage facilities and the poor material and technical base of processing enterprises. The state has allocated R77 billion to rectify the situation, and it is the task of party organizations to exercise strict monitoring of the utilization of this money.

Speaking about the need to socially transform the villages, the speaker pointed out the unjustifiably low capital investment in this sphere of activity, stressing that the practice of unjust distribution of funds must be ended.

Competence, purposefulness, and collaboration with science have enabled the Ryazan Oblast party organization to substantially improve the work of the agro-industrial complex and of food supply to the population in recent years. A third group of students attending the Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Leading Party and Soviet Cadres along with CPSU Central Committee Secretary G.I. Usmanov studied the [Ryazan] oblast party organization's experience in switching agroindustrial complex sectors to an effective path of development.

Giving priority to the key social problems of developing the countryside, the visitors first went to a settlement that had grown up on Pronskiy Rayon's "Pioner" Sovkhoz in just a year thanks to the introduction of a continuous-flow method of housing construction involving on-site casting of concrete. Great interest was also generated by the skillfully organized traditional method of building homestead-type dwellings and other social, cultural, and consumer facilities decorated with carved and painted wood and the general high standard of comprehensive services and amenities on Shilovskiy Rayon's "Dobrovolets" Kolkhoz.

Stockraising complexes, leasehold farms, and machine depots working in a new way were inspected on farms in Starozhilovskiy, Zakharovskiy, Ryazanskiy, Rybnovskiy, and Pronskiy Rayons. On "Yekinovskiy" Sovkhoz, for example, the vistors' attention was attracted by a shop producing high-quality cheeses actually set up on the dairy farm. Everyone visited the formerly "futureless" village of Medvezhye, which has been revived thanks to the creation of the "Iskra" hog raising production association, a specialist unit equipped with modern industrial technology. The visitors also got to know about the Ryazan Electronic Instruments Production Association's subsidiary farm, which is rapidly increasing its output, and paid calls on the best enterprises of the oblast union of consumer trade cooperatives, the Ryazan dairy combine, the city market, and many stores.

As G.I. Usmanov subsequently noted at a meeting with the oblast party aktiv, every farm and labor collective here has realistic production programs. But the main thing is that the programs are not just proclaimed, but are taken to heart by people who have a clear idea of how to implement what is planned. The oblast party committee has skillfully selected competent cadres who are completely devoted to solving the very important tasks of developing the agroindustrial complex, and—what is important—have been allowed to put their full initiative into action. This graphic example is a direct answer to the question of whether party organs should concern themselves with leading economic management work and the economy. All must do so without fail. But do so employing new methods and approaches and relying on people and their interest in the results of their labor and social transformation.

Scientific

More Details on 'Kvant-2' Module

Storage Batteries Recharged

LD2811203489 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 28 Nov 89

["Kvant-2 Module Continues its Flight"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from Mission Control Centre:

Dynamic operations to recharge the ['Kvant-2'] module's storage batteries were continued today.

After achieving the necessary capacity of the storage batteries, the module's dynamic characteristics were specified and the functionning of its control system with a changed configuration of the solar batteries' panels were checked.

At present, Kvant-2 is flying according to a pre-set programme. The correction of the trajectory of its distant rapprochment with the Mir space station is scheduled for November 29.

Orbit Changed, Parameters Given

LD2911214689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1912 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov. (TASS)—TASS correspondent reports from flight control center:

In accordance with the flight program, the planned operations for correcting the orbit of the 'Kvant-2' module have been carried out today. Before these works began, the altitude of the module was controlled in space and there was a controlled switching on of its engine. The dual-impulse maneuver of rendezvous with the 'Mir' manned complex was carried out at the caluclated time.

After the correction, the paramaters of the module's orbit accord with those calculated and are:

—apogee—413 km;
—perigee—344 km;
—period of revolution—91.8 mins;
—orbital inclination—51.6 degrees.

Standard tests of the working regime of the KURS radiotechnical rendezvous and docking system are planned for 30 November.

'Molniya-3' Satellite Launched 28 Nov

LD2911093189 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Soviet Union launched a communication satellite "Molniya-3", using the "Molniya" rocket booster, on Tuesday to provide for the operation of long-distant telephone and telegraph radio communication and to broadcast Soviet Central TV programmes to the Orbita network and the network of international cooperation.

The satellite is on an orbit with a 40,600-kilometer apogee in the northern hemisphere and a 662-kilometer perigee in the southern hemisphere.

The period of satellite rotation is 12 hours 16 minutes and the orbital inclination is 62.5 degrees.

Communication sessions through the satellite will be carried out according to the schedule.

'Granat' Space Observatory Launch set for 1 Dec

LD2911232789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2232 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] And now, from earthly problems to space news. Preparations for the launch of the space observatory "Granat" are coming to an end at Baykonur. The launch is scheduled for 1 December. The final touches are being applied.

Meanwhile, I shall give you a report from the Flight Control Center. Out in space, on board the "Kvant-2" module, everything is going according to plan, as the scientists put it. The distance approach to the "Mir" complex has begun. [video shows "Granat" in hangar, workmen making adjustments to it]

Fire at Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant 24 Nov

LD2811144789 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Withheld for nearly (?60) hours, news was released that on late Friday night [24 November] fire broke out at the Ignalina atomic power plant. (? It can be guessed it wasn't long). The sequence of events is as follows: A sealing valve of the lubricating system in one of the coupled turbogenerators in the first block went out of order. A limited amount of hydrogen got into the equipment and the neighboring premises and caught fire. The plant personnel, using the fire extinguishing system, put out the fire in 2 minutes. The rules of safe exploitation were not violated. No radioactive substance leaked out into the environment and none of the personnel suffered, says the official report. The fire's cause was discovered, but what kind it was not specified. According to official reports this was the third incident this year.

It has been announced that an international commission of experts has been working in Ignalina for a week already. It plans to give a press conference in Vilnius during which analysis of all incidents is likely to be given.

Politburo Debates Siberian Science Growth

PM0911103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report on proceedings at 3 November Politburo session in Moscow: "From the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Session": "Second Wind For Siberian Science"]

[Text] For a long time Siberia has developed at a much faster rate than the country's national economy as a whole. Oil and gas extraction and refining, the introduction of the latest technology, the intensive development of machine building—these are the hallmarks of the Siberian region today. History has dictated that the mighty scientific potential should play the part of a kind of catalyst in the industrial-economic, social, and cultural processes taking place here. But in recent years the problems have begun to pile up in Siberian science, and this has had an adverse effect on the pace of development in the entire region. The idea of developing the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences should help to give it its second wind.

In his report Academician V.A. Koptyug, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, noted that that the eastern regions are well known for playing an important and growing role in our country's economy. The intensive development of these regions requires thorough scientific validation and backup. A decisive step in shaping the requisite scientific potential on Siberian territory was taken in 1957, when it was decided to set up the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department as a complex of regionally distributed scientific centers, closely linked to the higher education system. The policy of developing academic science in such important regions of the Russian Federation [RSFSR] was continued in the organization of the Far East and Ural Departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, taking into account the Siberian Department's experience. The significance of these steps is particularly evident today in view of the urgent need to increase the territories' economic independence.

As a result of constant support from central and local party and soviet organs, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department has established a substantial material-technical base over the years and now possesses considerable scientific and cadre potential. At the department's six scientific centers located in Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Ulan-Ude and Yakutsk and elsewhere in Siberia there are 62 scientific research and production design organizations where 85 members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and 800 doctors and 5,330 candidates of sciences work. They have to their credit a large number of fundamentally important discoveries, technical and technological developments of worldwide significance, and also applied studies, carried out in the region's interests in the context of the "Siberia" program. More than 600 major studies were presented for implementation in the country's national economy in this 5-year plan.

In general, a great deal has been done to develop science and train cadres in Siberia. At the same time, neither the country's government, nor the RSFSR government, nor indeed we ourselves are satisfied today with the scale of science's impact on the development of the country's national economy and the economy and culture in the Siberian regions and Russia as a whole.

There was a detailed discussion about the tasks and ways of developing Siberian science in September 1988, at M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with scientists and party, soviet, and economic leaders at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's Krasnoyarsk Scientific Center. During the meeting there was both praise for and serious criticism of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department for flaws in validating the prospects for the large-scale economic and social development of the Siberian regions and in ensuring effective use of the accumulated scientific potential in the plan for its practical implementation. The broad exchange of views indicated the need for and basic areas of a new drive to develop the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department. The analysis of these areas by the USSR Academy of Sciences in conjunction with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR State Planning Committee, and the RSFSR Council of Ministers made it possible to form an overall concept and carry out a detailed analysis of the prospects for the development of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department through 20005.

In order to increase the efficiency of all the department's components in terms of end results, that is, in terms of the pace and scale of implementation of scientific achievements, it was decided to rapidly develop their own design and experimental production base as well as further developing various established forms of collaboration with the national economy. This will make it possible not only to bring studies to a level that industry can take in, but also to ensure the production of small runs of products to determine the potential market inside the country and abroad.

There are currently nine production design organizations in the department which are strong enough from the cadre viewpoint but, unfortunately, do not have enough production space. There are experimental plants in Novosibirsk, Berdsk, and Irkutsk. A number of technical engineering centers have been set up. Production cooperation is developing with foreign partners. It is to be hoped that it will encourage the creation in the RSFSR of a network of comparatively small enterprises producing high-technology products which bridge the gap that is typical of our country between "major" science and "major" industry.

The concept pays considerable attention to exploiting the potential connected with the conversion of industry's defense sectors. The industrial implementation of a number of major department studies (techniques for obtaining ultradispersive diamonds, a range of highly effective catalysts, and so on) is already under way. So one should not confine oneself to individual studies—programs are needed for large-scale collaboration between sectors undergoing perestroyka and academic science. A good example is the joint proposal by the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department and the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry on organizing the "Mikroelektronika" eastern science and production complex, geared to the development and production of high-purity substances and microelectronics components on the basis of advanced materials, automatic planning and tooling systems for the production of integrated circuits, computer technology, instruments, and robots. The implementation of this proposal is important not only from the viewpoint of accelerating the use of the existing scientific potential, but also as a step toward introducing elements of competition in this important sphere of scientific-technical progress.

Further growth is envisaged in the Siberian Department's role in elaborating scientifically substantiated forecasts and regional development plans based on the potential for scientific-technical progress. Systematic research on problems of the comprehensive development of natural resources, energy- and resource-saving, ecology, and the balanced development of production forces in Siberia must serve as the basis for the elaboration and implementation of a unified scientific-technical and social policy in a very important region of the country. This requires more effective and better integrated academic, sector, and higher educational establishment [VUZ] science within the framework of the "Siberia" comprehensive regional scientific research program, by gearing its subprograms to more specific targets and, at the same time, solving the question of financing the program out of the RSFSR Council of Ministers centralized fund, set up on the basis of contributions by ministries and departments whose enterprises operate in the Siberian region.

The rapid development of Siberian production forces revealed that in some areas the department does not possess sufficient potential to ensure that science anticipates the development of a number of important national economic complexes. There is a pressing need to set up scientific centers in Tyumen (geared to the development of the oil, gas, and chemical complex and the problems of the North), in Kemerovo (coal and coal chemistry), and Omsk (machine building).

At the same time, existing scientific centers should expand research into problems pertaining to ecology, timber chemistry and the processing of natural raw materials, the study of materials, and a number of other important areas for the region which have not been properly developed in past years.

Extra measures must be adopted to expand and deepen research in the sphere of the social sciences, which are of special significance at the present stage of Soviet society's development. Attention should be focused on problems of generalizing the historical experience of Siberia's economic and sociocultural development, the development of the ethnic groups of the North in conditions of scientific-technical progress, and the study and validation of measures to preserve the Siberian peoples' cultural heritage.

When stipulating measures to accelerate the implementation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's potential and widen its involvement in the solution of regional problems it should be remembered that the scale and standard of the fundamental research are the main factors determining the success and effectiveness of its work. The integrated nature of the scientific centers, built in when the department was organized, enables it to make a substantial contribution to the development of many priority and, in particular, interdisciplinary areas of science. Despite the economic difficulties the country is experiencing, the potential needs to be found to increase budget finance for fundamental research—after all, that is what bears the seeds of the technical and technological developments that revolutionize production. At the same time, measures are being outlined to exploit reserves for improving scientific workers' labor productivity. The targeted program approach in collectives' work is to be further refined, the department's institutions are to be supplied with modern instruments and equipment, information technology is to be extensively developed, creative collectives' independence and mobility are to be improved, and a competitive atmosphere is to be created.

In order to ensure rapid movement of reserves and make organizational structures more flexible, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department (and the

USSR Academy of Sciences as a whole) must be authorized to tackle independently the questions of transforming large, multispecialty institutes, where necessary, into associations of independent scientific institutions with legal entity status and general backup services and of creating or disbanding scientific research and design organizations as far as resources will allow.

The development of new forms of intra-union and international cooperation among scientists, envisaging their long-term direct collaboration in particular scientific areas, is an important way of improving the standard of fundamental research. National (on solar and terrestrial physics and on closed ecological systems) and international research centers are planned, based on institutes occupying leading positions in world science. There has been very substantial progress, in particular, in organizing the Baykal International Center for Ecological Research and the joint tomography center in conjunction with the FRG.

New forms of integration in the sphere of fundamental research also offer interesting opportunities in the matter of training highly skilled cadres. A new approach is planned here for the development of the effective system of collaboration between between academic science and higher education that has existed for some years in Siberian scientific centers.

The question of keeping scientific cadres in Siberia is an acute one. The department has to accelerate the development of the scientific centers' engineering infrastructure and social, cultural, consumer, and housing facilities. A feature of the department's scientific centers is that all the facilities in them are developed and maintained by the department itself. The quotas for construction and installation work are being assimilated by 80-90 percent and for housing construction by 100 percent. But the waiting line for housing (around 12,000 people) is not getting any shorter. It is not possible to solve this and other rapidly increasing social problems in the scientific centers within the framework of capital investment allocations. The department needs considerable assistance here.

Academician G.I. Marchuk talked about the discussion of this report at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

"After Academician Koptyug's speech, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev asked me for my opinion. I worked in the Siberian Department for many years and spent my last years there in charge, and I have a first-hand acquaintance with the problems raised in the report.

"I said that much of the Siberian scientists' work is of a high, world-class standard and in some areas is the best in the world. We must not forget that the Siberian Department sprang up very rapidly in the eastern part of the country. It is a totally unique structural component of our scientific organization. A particular feature of it is the fact that the Siberian scientists not only carry out fundamental research but are also most actively engaged in putting the results into practice.

"The rapid formation of the Siberian Department was largely determined by a well-judged cadre training system. There were practically no permanent teachers at Novosibirsk University. Classes were conducted by the staff of scientific research institutes. They taught living science. Then the students did practical work with them. A natural and very fruitful synthesis of science and education occurred. In time, a physics and mathematics school with boarding facilities was set up at the suggestion of Academician M.A. Lavrentyev, first president and founder of the Academic Village [Akademgorodok], for work with gifted children. They were selected on the basis of the results of contests for talented schoolchildren all over Siberia and the Far East. The teachers are lecturers and professors. The system of selecting and educating gifted children has helped to establish a substantial and high-quality scientific potential in the East fairly rapidly.

"But time is passing and the new ways of organizing science, its links with production, and cadre training which were devised here are now habitual and, in order to meet the demands of the times, require transformation. I noted in particular the fact that the department had achieved good results in such areas as microelectronics, electronic optical equipment, and software, among others. They must be maintained and developed as far as possible. On the basis of this work a new microelectronics center could easily be set up in the East. We need to develop high-technology research and production. This could be done in close contact with national economic sectors.

"While busy developing natural and applied research, we must not forget about the social sciences. The Siberian Department must pay the closest attention to this area of work. I mean primarily philosophy, history, culture, and interethnic relations. Progress will be difficult without constant interpretation of the processes taking place in science and society.

"I also expressed my anxiety about the development of the Akademgorodok infrastructure: Construction of housing, hostels, and socialist, cultural, and consumer facilities. Because of the current shortage of them, the natural development of the Siberian Department's scientific potential is being inhibited, unfortunately. I hope that these remarks will be taken into account and will be of assistance in the preparation of more detailed analyses of the development of the Siberian Department."

[Unspecified questioner] "Guriy Ivanovich, could you talk about the atmosphere that characterizes Politburo sessions?"

[Marchuk] "Very businesslike, keen, and amicable. Every issue is discussed at proper length. For example, last Friday we worked from 1300 to just after 1700 hours on just three questions. Before perestroyka, I recall that 10-15 minutes would be spent on each question. Decisions were approved rather than discussed. The sessions of the current Politburo are characterized by a spirit of debate and polemics. For example, the discussion of the development of the Siberian Department developed into a debate about our economy's lack of receptiveness to scientific-technical achievements. Academician N.P. Laverov, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, presented his ideas about forming a system of economic levers to interest enterprises in introducing innovations. There were other interesting views as well. I have attended Politburo sessions on practically all questions relating to the development of science and scientific-technical progress. In their present form its regular sessions are a kind of intellectual headquarters for perestroyka. Moreover, I particularly want to say that problems of scientific-technical progress and the life of science and its creators are something that it attends to constantly and closely."

Comrades G.A. Yagodin and V.A. Medvedev also spoke on the topic at the Politburo session. Summing up the discussion, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the resolution should clearly emphasize the political approach, formulate the concept, and leave all the rest to the USSR Council of Ministers for the adoption of specific decisions.

Military

Moiseyev Addresses General Staff Conference

PM2911144389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel I. Sas report: "Course of Renewal"]

[Text] "Perestroyka in the Armed Forces and the role and place of General Staff directorates in its practical implementation in the light of the CPSU Central Committee's present-day guidelines" was the theme of a recent scientific practical conference of leading personnel and the party aktiv of the General Staff. The report was delivered by Army General A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

It was noted that the concept of perestroyka proposed by the CPSU is increasingly capturing the hearts and minds of Soviet people and putting forward new demands in the sphere of reliably ensuring the country's defense capability. The tasks placed before the Armed Forces by the USSR Defense Council's main military council were given a detailed examination and analysis.

At present, the report said, all the processes of renewal that the country is experiencing are mirrored in the Army and Navy. But at the same time there are a number of purely military restructuring tasks that are being resolved by the Armed Forces. The first and main task is the practical realization of the demands of Soviet military doctrine and its defensive thrust. The political, economic, military, and organizational aspects of this most important area of perestroyka were also subjected to rigorous scientific analysis.

Second, it is necessary to carry out a transition in defense organizational development to primarily qualitative parameters—both with regard to hardware and military science and to the composition of the Armed Forces—and to review their development prospects based on the principles of reasonable sufficiency for defense and in the light of the reduction of military spending without harming the country's security.

Third, the General Staff is to resolve a whole complex of problems connected with the rationalization and resolute improvement of Armed Forces' training.

Fourth, it is necessary to implement a package of measures to ensure a radical improvement in the state of discipline, to eliminate accidents and eradicate crime, and to establish regulation order in units and on ships.

And fifth, the report noted, an urgent item placed on the agenda by life itself is the question of increasing the effectiveness of party political work in the Army and Navy, more actively pursuing the party line in the Armed Forces via army and navy Communists, and ensuring that they set a personal example.

These areas also formed the basis of the discussion. Both the report and the speeches paid much attention to problems connected with the unilateral reduction of troops, restructuring the character of their training, military-technical policy, scientific backup, organizational building, and the procedure for staffing the Armed Forces and training cadres. Emphasis was placed on the need to further improve the style and methods of work of generals and officers of the General Staff, eradicate bureaucracy, and establish a creative atmosphere in collectives. Much must be done here by party organizations to ensure that each Communist is deeply aware that the position occupied by the General Staff in the system of organs of administration is not just the summit of authority but also the summit of responsibility for the combat readiness and combat capability of the Armed Forces.

The conference was addressed by Colonel General V. Denisov, Colonel General V. Korobushin, Lieutenant General I. Larin, Lieutenant General F. Markovskiy, Major General F. Ladygin, Major General S. Bogdanov, and others.

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Warsaw Pact Future

PM2911092889 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 22 Nov 89 p 11

[Interview with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, military adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev, by Ezio Mauro; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Moscow—"The West must realize this: The Warsaw Pact existed in the past, exists now, and will exist in the future, too." Marshal of the USSR Sergey Akhromeyev, Gorbachev's military adviser, denies that the dramatic crisis in Eastern Europe is weakening the USSR or that the disintegration of its empire could demolish, after the Berlin Wall, the strategic and military bloc of the communist nations, too. [Introductory passage omitted]

[Mauro] Marshal Akhromeyev, it is clear by now that the Soviet political leadership is "judging" the reform process that is changing the face of the East European countries. But the reform also entails the risk of a destabilization of the old European balances: What is the response of the military leadership?

[Akhromeyev] We are trying to understand what is going on. We proceed from the assumption that the USSR's foreign policy now is radically different from that of 5 years ago. We share the three fundamental principles, namely, demilitarization, democratization, and the deideologization of international relations.

We know what this means: The USSR, unless it is threatened, rules out the use of force with respect to other countries and recognizes the right of every state and every people freely to build whatever social system they choose.

[Mauro] But for you in the military, does this freedom of choice also apply to the socialist countries, which have hitherto been guided by state communism?

[Akhromeyev] Of course, it applies to everyone—capitalists, socialists, and nonaligned, in both East and West. Limited sovereignty must not exist and ideology must no longer find a place in interstate relations. It will, however, survive in interparty relations. But between states from now on only international law will apply, together, of course, with the interests of each individual country and the alliances.

[Mauro] Does this entail the USSR's complete neutrality with respect to whatever character Central Europe may assume in the future, even if ceases to be communist?

[Akhromeyev] We do not forget that we were the initiators of perestroyka. So, if this new policy starts to make headway in the countries nearest to us—entailing changes that we respect, even if they perhaps do not all convince us— we cannot fail to be pleased. The fact is that our assessment of perestroyka remains profoundly different from that of the West: Indeed, we believe that, despite the present crisis, perestroyka will lead to a strengthening of socialism in our countries. The West, on the other hand, believes that this reform is the beginning of the end for socialism. This is why you are surprised by how calm we are.

[Mauro] Is there not a danger of this crisis destabilizing the Warsaw Pact?

[Akhromeyev] I do not believe so. The Warsaw Pact countries remain together now, not simply because there is an alliance but because there are specific interests of state for each of those countries—and I mean not only military, but also political and economic interests. It really does not seem to me that the changes currently under way eliminate those interests. This is why I am sure that the Pact existed, still exists, and will continue to exist for a long time. Of course it will free itself from its ideological superstructures. But it will remain standing.

[Mauro] But can the Warsaw Pact survive without the ideological bond between fraternal parties and states?

[Akhromeyev] True, we USSR military leaders are Communists and patriots, and convinced that perestroyka is the right way. So we support it and will continue to support it. I cannot answer for my counterparts in the other countries, but I am sure that they hold the same line.

[Mauro] Marshal, has the time not come to condemn the Soviet military interventions in Budapest and Prague?

[Akhromeyev] How many years have gone by? It was quite another time; the international situation was different, as were were relations between the two blocs, and within them, too. We cannot judge the events of 20-30 years ago with the yardstick of the present.

First Landings on Carrier 'Tbilisi' Described

90UM0127A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by V. Cherbakov: "Thunder Over the Deck"]

[Text] **For the first time in the history of the Soviet Navy and Air Force, aircraft have completed regular takeoffs and landings from the deck of a the heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser "Tbilisi." This event occurred a couple of days ago in the Black Sea where flight design tests were being conducted on the new ship.**

At first it was difficult for an ordinary, nonmilitary person to understand the significance of this event. Well, they landed and, well, they took off; what is so special about that? That is what I was thinking as I crawled onto the deck of the cruiser from a small tugboat on that dark autumn evening.

In spite of the late hour the "Tbilisi" was leading its busy life. For, in addition to the regular crew, working on board were numerous civilian specialists who had participated in the construction of the "Tbilisi" and delivered the instruments, systems, and electronic equipment to it. I already knew many of them—I had met them when I had visited the cruiser in the Black Sea shipyard. And the discussions of the news from Moscow and daily life here on board the ship ultimately came down to one thing—the first landing of an aircraft on deck.

Not so long ago on the pages of PRAVDA, Navy Commander-in-Chief, Fleet Admiral V.N. Shernavin said that our aircraft carriers were developing from simple to complex. Until recently either helicopters or aircraft with vertical takeoff had landed on the decks of cruisers. But still, the defense of the Navy required that aircraft-carrying cruisers have modern, well- equipped fighters with ultrahigh speeds and a long intercept range. Within a couple of minutes, these aircraft must start from the deck and rapidly intercept air targets at a long distance from the cruiser.

...Early in the morning I looked through the porthole—the cruiser was going at a good clip, noiselessly. The sea was not stormy and one got the impression of flying over the water—for it was about 25 meters below. A helicopter whirred in the sky.

"They went onto the deck to meet the guests"—I looked into the cabin of the director of the Black Sea shipyard, Yuriy Ivanovich Makarov.

The Mi-8 helicopter had already landed on the stern and the general designer of the P.O. Sukhoy Special Design Bureau, M.P. Simonov, and the head designer, K.Kh. Marbashev—in general one of the main figures in subsequent events—were descending the gangway.

"I do not recall anything like this," noted Vice Admiral A.M. Ustyantsev, chairman of the government commission for accepting the ship.

We looked at him in silence.

"Well, how is that," he continued. "That an Aeroflot helicopter has landed on the deck of an aircraft-carrying cruiser? This is also the first time I have seen this...."

It was crowded at the command point of the flight leader, although I was perhaps the only outsider. On the screen of the monitor a small cross was moving toward the crosshairs. It was an aircraft straightening out to land on the stern. I heard on the speaker the voice of the test pilot first class of the Sukhoy Special Design Bureau, Hero of the Soviet Union Viktor Pugachev. In a minute the blue Su-27 fighter-interceptor descended with a deafening roar to 1 meter above the deck and then went around in the next circle. A second landing, a third, a tenth. There will be many more "registration fire" exercises. But now the Su-27 has touched down on the deck, taxied about 50 meters, and again ascended into the sky. Four strips parallel to the axis mark were left by the wheels of the chassis....

Everything went well and the registration flights continued. And the people participating in them said: "So far, everything is going well"—knock on wood... High-class specialists had gathered on the cruiser and their knowledge, experience, and hard work had created this situation of "going well." Last but not least was to make a decision to land.

Frequently today when thinking about the blunders in the economy and in the development of many branches of industry, science, and culture, you come to the conclusion: These shortcomings are not from inadequate intelligence or poor professional training. The administrative-command method, although it is called a command method, has gotten people out of the habit of making decisions. Everyone has learned to live by looking "upward" to see what they will say there, although decisions should be should be made here, at a lower level. On the "Tbilisi" I looked into the faces of those who should have made the decision about the first landing—the vice admiral, the former North Sea submarine sailor, the general designer of aircraft that are known throughout the world, the director of one of the largest plants in the country, and the ship's head designer. For, they really understood what was going on.... Yes, there was a risk, but there always is. Without it we would never have had the first Sputnik, Gagarin's, or a defense industry of which the country can be proud. And these people were motivated not by a feeling of bowing and scraping, not by a desire to report victory, but by cold-bloodedness, experience, and confidence in their work. The decision was made.

...13 hours 46 minutes. The four threads of the steel cables of the arresters rose over the deck. And then the Su-27 touched the second of them, caught the cable with its lowered hook, a special kind of hook, and lurched forward. In a second, as if caught by a rubber band, the aircraft freezes on the spot. The first landing!

There is a celebration on deck. Viktor Pugachev, who had gotten out of the cockpit, was unable to step down for a long time—he floated above it held up by the hands of dozens of people. Many people had tears in their eyes—tears of victory. As I was told later by the old shipbuilder, Sergey Nikitovich Ostremskiy, such a ship is born twice—when it is lowered into the water and when the first aircraft lands on it. So many of those present came to this joyful day of the decade approaching this moment and working in defense of the country. It would be impossible to give all the names! And it was a celebration for all of them....

Viktor Pugachev is known throughout the world today! He is an absolutely imperturbable person. Perhaps this is the way a high-class test pilot should be.

"Everything simply went wonderfully. The ship accepted the aircraft incredibly smoothly. It was considerably worse on land," he shared with me his first impressions when he was finally "placed" on the deck.

But this day was fairly warm for November and it provided several wonderful moments for the participants in the events. An hour and a half later the MiG-29 fighter piloted by a first-class test pilot of the Mikoyan Special Design Bureau, Hero of the Soviet Union Takhtar Aubakirov, landed on the deck of the "Tbilisi" just as softly and smoothly. And some time later, next to the Su-27 landed its brother the Su-25. The planes of Igor Botintsev, first-class test pilot of the Sukhoy Special Design Bureau, and Aleksandr Krutov, first-class test pilot of the flight testing institute, landed on deck for the training variant.

For some reason, Aubakirov was in a hurry to get back to land. Perhaps he though that since he was second to land he would be first to take off? And there was his MiG smoothly gathering speed, departing from the ramp into the sky. The first takeoff! When the Su-27 and Su-25 took off from the deck just as easily, someone standing next to me noted: "It is all so simple that you would think that they had been taking off from ships for 20 years...."

An explorer, a pioneer—a strong and brave man. He is sent first in order to blaze the trail for others. In time young fliers from naval aviation will also land on the deck of the cruiser "Tbilisi." But this day will remain in the memories of many people forever. Including myself. For it is real happiness for a journalist to see a pioneer in a job.

Air Force Base To Become Civil Airport

LD2811093789 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] A Soviet air base in the Maritime Territory in the country's Far East is being converted into a civil airport. The project is part of the conversion program launched by the defense industry. The area of the airport will be declared as a free economic zone. It's just 1 hour's flight from Seoul, Tokyo and other capitals of Southeast Asian countries. The first test flights by civilian aircraft are going to be carried out within 3 months.